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ABSTRACT

This two-part document offers approaches and directions for school personnel in the development of childrens' values, feelings, and morals. Part 1 contains the presentations made at the 1973 National Research Committee Conference entitled "Children/Values, Feelings and Morals," each of which addresses a particular aspect of the overall topic. Presentations are: (1) The Development of Moral Thought in Children; (2) Children's Understanding of Morals; (3) Mass Media and Moral Development; (4) Matching Communication Pace with Children's Cognitive Styles; (5) Primary Level Curriculum: Cognitive Developmental Theory of Moral Reasoning; (6) Influencing Children's Values, Feelings, and Morals: Program Development and Problems; and (7) Ethnic and Social Class Attitudes and Behaviors of Children. Part 2 is an annotated bibliography of books for children and teachers, films and filmstrips, media materials, program guides, and catalogs--all dealing with the topic of developing values, feelings, and morals in children. (Author/PC)

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VALUES, FEELINGS AND MORALS: PART I ◂▸ RESEARCH AND PERSPECTIVES

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**A
RESEARCH
REVIEW
FROM**

EKNE

**Edited
by
D. DWAIN HEARN**

**AMERICAN
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The American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, is a professional organization of Educators specializing in the education of children, preschool through upper elementary school. Founded in 1884, its central purpose is to unite elementary educators for the improvement and expansion of educational opportunities for all children.

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Why Consider Children's Morals, Feelings and Values?

Has the United States ever lived through a period of time more provocative of questions of moral values than the year of 1973? Whether we have or haven't, the events of the past several months have made today truly a time of "the teachable moment" as relates to values, morals and feelings--perhaps as much for adults as for children.

Probably the central question is: How do we--as professional educators in a country so diverse as the United States--best direct our energies toward what future evidence will reveal to have been the most appropriate and effective development of moral values? How may this be approached and accomplished while at the same time respecting individual rights, differences and cultural mores? How do teachers successfully deal with the dilemma of teaching values, feelings and morals when all three are such private, individual things? How do educators effectively deal with such topics where there are no universal standards by which to measure and proceed? Should there be?

How does one most effectively approach the development of children's values, feelings and morals? Many seem to feel that exemplary models are of major significance--the model or example set by the parents, teachers, peers; the school, media, instructional program. . . Somehow this seems to imply degrees of self discipline and responsibility which are perhaps superhuman. Yet, how may educators avoid being human? How may they successfully deal with the dilemma of "do as I say, not as I do?" How is it that moral values are so easy to state yet so difficult to live by, to teach and to learn?

How do people of our country, and of the world, come to grips with the mass abuse and waste of energy and other resources? Are there really implications from Watergate and the energy crises for elementary and preschool teachers in working with children? If so, what are they? How should they become a part of the school--and/or other--curriculum. . .or should they? How are values taught? How are morals taught? How are feelings acquired? How are all of these learned?

Information relating to many of these questions, though certainly not all encompassing, was dealt with in the January 1973 National Research Committee Conference entitled Children/Values, Feelings and Morals, sponsored by the American Association of Elementary, Kindergarten, Nursery Educators in Washington, D.C.

This book includes the presentations made at that conference. Each presentation deals with actual work the author/researcher has been involved in (and should not be taken as representing the official opinion of E/K/N/E). Each of the presentations addresses only a particular aspect of the overall topic.

(1) The Development of Moral Thought in Children, presented by Norma K. Stone, includes a fairly comprehensive review of the work of three theories related to the development of children's moral thought: Freudian theory, Associationistic-Learning theory, and Cognitive-Developmental theory. Considerable perspective on the contributions of Piaget and Kohlberg is also given. (This paper was not presented at the conference, but was submitted by the author after attending the conference.)

(2) Children's Understanding of Morals, presented by Lee C. Lee, includes information about the definition of morality and moral development, Piaget's theory, and the results of Lee's research testing Piaget's chief underlying assumption that changes in cognitive structures are related directly to comparable changes

in moral judgments.

(3) Mass Media and Moral Development, presented by Aletha Huston Stein, gives brief information about defining values and moral development, then examines three major issues: the types of values and moral examples prevalent in current commercial television fare, the apparent effects of that type of television content on children's values and moral behavior, and the potential of television for conveying very different moral messages than it currently contains, with some of the literature showing the types of moral behavior that can be taught to children through the media.

(4) Matching Communication Pace with Children's Cognitive Styles, presented by John Wright, is a discussion of structural properties of children's programs, namely, Sesame Street and Misterogers Neighborhood, with implications relating to characteristics of cognitive styles.

(5) Primary Level Curriculum: Cognitive-Developmental Theory of Moral Reasoning, presented by Robert L. Selman, deals with learning theory and curriculum development as they relate to moral education and values. The results of research evaluating curriculum for primary grades based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development are included.

(6) Influencing Children's Values, Feelings, Morals: Program Development and Problems, presented by David Weikart, reveals serious implications to be considered in the areas of developing, implementing and assessing programs for children.

(7) Ethnic and Social Class Attitudes and Behaviors of Children, presented by Barbara J. Sowder, begins with a discussion of the development of ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors in children, moves to the question of their determinants, and concludes with research findings on how they may be modified.

Certainly not all the questions asked earlier in this chapter are either addressed or answered in the following chapters; it is hoped, however, that the questions asked and the implications from the following pages will serve as catalysts for much further study and thought about children's values, feelings and morals (see Part II - An Annotated Bibliography of Programs and Instructional Materials).

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The Development of Moral Thought in Children

by Norma K. Stone

FREUDIAN THEORY

Development of children's moral thought has been studied by psychologists and educators since the turn of the century. One version of moral development stems from Freudian theory, which equates morality with super-ego or conscience strength. Designating super-ego as the internal mechanism for controlling behavior in opposition to the urges of the id, Freud explains its function as censor of conduct and thought, eliciting guilt, anxiety and/or shame for unsatisfactory acts and rewarding virtue and capability through enhanced self-esteem.

Freud calls the super-ego development process "identification." He states that content of the culture is internalized through identification with parents and set up within the child's personality as a socializing and moral agency--the super-ego"(3, p. 350). He considers super-ego the primary force for maintaining the influence of parental and societal standards beyond childhood and notes that super-ego strength can be detected only through behavior emitted when no enforcers are present. Such behavior has been studied through measures of resistance to temptation; its affective component has been studied through measures of guilt.

Studies from the Freudian-based psychosexual-maturational viewpoint assume early childhood to be the critical period for age-specific irreversible personality formation(9). Results of such studies are contradictive. Little consistency exists on the child-rearing antecedents of guilt. Few associations have been established between child-rearing practices and child personality. Only the association between physical punishment and aggression in children has been somewhat clear. Kohlberg(9) also makes the following observations:

1. No correlations have been found between parental modes of handling infantile drives and later moral behaviors or attitudes;
2. No relationship was found between the amount of reward and moral variables in 20 different studies;
3. Results of the relationship between physical punishment and resistance to temptation are mixed and tend to even out to no reliable relationship;
4. Though psychological punishment has no relationship to resistance to temptation, there is a relationship to guilt when induction--verbalizing the bad nature and consequences of an act for self and others--is utilized;
5. There was no clear relationship between moral development and parental power;
6. Positive correlation of maternal warmth and conscience was demonstrated in some studies;
7. Clearer findings related current parental attitudes to current child attitudes, rather than relating early child experience to later personality structure; and
8. For children at the pre-school and kindergarten level, no positive relationship was apparent between parental warmth and moral attitudes.

These conclusions, drawn from studies identified by Kohlberg as theoretically and/or methodologically inadequate, nevertheless, point up the general inability of Freudian socialization theory to support its own implications for moral development.

ASSOCIATIONISTIC-LEARNING THEORY

An almost equally popular alternative version of moral development stems from the work of the associonistic-learning theorists. Morality, in their context, is defined ". . .in terms of specific acts and avoidances which are learned on the basis of rewards and punishments. . .with little or no rationale accompanying"(6, p. 262). Moral habits, such as promptness and neatness, are illustrations of an aspect of this theory. Such characteristics can be termed virtues in the moral sense and their development can be ascribed, at least in part, to social reinforcement. Kohlberg(9) maintains that the child wants rewards or approval to reassure himself that his/her performance was competent or correct, rather than that the child performs in a certain manner in order to be reinforced. So the reinforcement is useful because it has informational value and indicates to the child that s/he has met a standard in the mind of a person more competent than himself. In some cases, the social reinforcement is translated by the child into a direct invitation to imitate the reinforcer.

Perhaps it is the strength of the imitative suggestion which prevents the use of physical punishment to eliminate aggressive behavior from acting as a successful negative reinforcer. In fact, the aggressive behavior is increased by this treatment, probably because it is an example of the behavior to be stamped out. The imitative response here is a more powerful influence than the reinforcer. A study such as Bandura and MacDonald's(2) illustrates the kind of socialization situation in which modeling is more effective than an operant conditioning procedure in changing a child's response. Bandura and others frequently illustrate the efficacy of modeling in causing behavior change in children. Their experiments seem to show that children imitate the source of power as opposed to those who benefit from it, but that nurturant models are also influential. Preference for certain models changes in relation to age; the child's cognitive understanding of role competence and its relevance to him/her begins to influence his/her choices.

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

The child's cognitive abilities have major import in the third major theory of moral development, that framed by the cognitive-developmental approach. In contrast to "the maturationist assumption that basic mental structure results from an innate patterning. . .and to the learning theory assumption that basic mental structure is the result of the patterning or association of events in the outside world, the cognitive-developmental assumption is that basic mental structure is the result of an interaction between certain organismic structuring tendancies and the structure of the outside world, rather than reflecting either one directly"(9, p. 352). This latter assumption is the major underpinning of the cognitive-developmental label, which is used to describe a variety of specific theories put forward over the years by researchers such as J. M. Baldwin, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, Jean Piaget, Loevinger, and Kohlberg.

Lawrence Kohlberg has become the leading spokesman for the cognitive-developmental point of view about the development of moral thought, following along the trail Piaget broke three decades ago with the publishing of The Moral Judgment of the Child. It drew from Baldwin's earlier work and examined for the first time the structure of children's moral thinking, identifying two separate and distinct phases of moral thought. Kohlberg goes far beyond Piaget's original statements to present a fairly well unified cognitive-developmental stage theory of the development of moral thought.

Kohlberg argues for the cognitive-developmental theory by applying the criteria for stage development to his scheme. He states(10) that there are culturally universal elements to morality at every stage he describes and that these stages constitute a hierarchy of cognitive difficulty with lower stages available to, but not used by, those at higher stages. The Turiel study(15) validated the premise that subjects could assimilate moral judgments best at one stage higher than their present functioning stage. Kohlberg further argues that movement is always upward in an invariant sequence, just as in cognitive stages, because "cognitive-structural reorganizations toward the more equilibrated occur in the course of interaction between the organism and the environment"(10, p. 183). He points out that forms of moral judgment clearly reflect forms of logical and cognitive capacity. Empirical tests demonstrate that moral thinking at a given level always demonstrates the ability to function at an equivalent cognitive stage, whereas the reverse may not be true. Cognitive functioning, then at a stated level is necessary to equivalent moral functioning, but does not guarantee it.

Many studies of moral thinking, feeling, and conduct have been carried out over the years of this century. Norman Bull(4) mentions a study of children's attitudes about punishment that was done at Stanford University about 1900. The results described the children's attitudes in much the same terms as Piaget did 30 years later, as ranging from total acceptance of adult authority to independent moral judgment around the age of 12. Hobhouse's study in 1906 provided stages of moral evolution of cultures which closely parallel Kohlberg's stages.

The first study to have a major impact on psychological ideas about morality is the Hartshorne and May study of children's moral character and knowledge from 1928-30. The most outstanding and unexpected result of this study is the conclusion that moral conduct has a large degree of specificity and therefore moral character cannot be judged by observing conduct, as children's behavior cannot be predicted well from one behavior episode to the next. Another interesting conclusion is that children in the early grades already know the basic moral rules and conventions of our society and often give answers--not related to their moral thinking--that they believe adults will approve. Further conclusions of this study indicate that moral knowledge scores of older children, while related to conduct, primarily indicate intelligence, cultural background and a desire to make a good impression, just like the younger children. The summary of findings about honesty, or resistance to cheating as it is defined in the study, and altruism and self-control are identical: that morally desirable behavior is demonstrated at least part of the time by everyone, with few people at the extremes of the behavior; that a given behavior is emitted in a way that is specific to the situation; that verbalization about the particular virtue has nothing to do with the person's actions; that there is little correlation between teachers' ratings of morality and experimental measures of a facet of it; that moral behavior is largely a function of the group's approval and example; and that the value of a specific moral behavior relates to the child's social class and group(11).

Piaget's trailblazing effort to discover the structure of children's moral thought is a landmark investigative effort, as so much of his work has been. Piaget and his followers define a moral act, "in accord with Western views about ethics, as one based on a conscious prior judgment of its rightness or wrongness"(6, p. 261). The results of his investigation of children's comprehension of rules, specifically in relation to the game of marbles, are widely described in the literature. He identifies four stages of understanding: the first corresponding to the sensorimotor stage and lacking any correspondence to rules; the second as the egocentric stage between ages two and five, where parallel play dominates, the third stage of incipient cooperation lasting until a child is 10 or 12, and the fourth and final stage of codification in which genuine cooperation dominates the handling of rules(5,17). Piaget then studied children's ideas about justice, fairness, punishment and lies, using the clinical method to interview children for their reactions to short paired stories, matched except for critical details, and asking them to judge the naughtier action.

Piaget summarizes his findings in terms of two levels of morality: heteronomy and autonomy, which he characterizes as in such marked contrast to each other that the first does not elicit the second. He describes heteronomous morality as a state of the child's being subject to adult authority unquestioningly and judging objectively in terms of results, with heavy infusions of moral realism and the idea of imminent justice. Children may be in this phase from the age of about four until eight to eleven. Autonomous morality, he says, derives from the mutual respect of children for their peers and arises out of their interaction and from cognitive growth. Their moral judgments in this phase are subjective, noting intent and motive, and do not depend on adult instruction. Reciprocity has entered into children's thinking now, at about the same time that reversible thinking becomes possible, and serves the cause of justice. Piaget argues that, "Just as logic represents an ideal equilibrium of thought operations, justice represents an ideal equilibrium of social interaction with reciprocity or reversibility being core conditions for both logical and moral equilibrium"(10, p. 194).

Another well-known and significant study is that of Peck and Havighurst, from 1960, which is often described(4,8,17). From the study of children ages 10 to 17 Peck and Havighurst develop four character types representing sequential stages, of which one is subdivided into alternate types. They are described as follows:

1. Amoral, in infancy: unsocialized;
2. Expedient, in early childhood: basically egocentric; acts to gain advantage or avoid punishment from adults;

3a. Conforming, in later childhood: guided by group mores into stable orientation toward right and wrong, but with situational specificity; or

3b. Irrational conscientious in later childhood: judging situations intuitively, largely ignoring approval of others, resulting in rigid stability of moral behavior; and

4. Rational altruistic, in later childhood: functioning with a stable set of moral principles which may be flexibly and objectively applied relative to consequences of an act.

According to Williams and Williams (whose description immediately precedes this statement), Peck and Havighurst account for the alternate parts of stage 3 as representing both inner- and other-directed people and the distinction between guilt and shame. The two Williams raise an interesting question about whether the appearance of autonomous judgments eradicates all other levels of thinking and feeling, pointing out that everyday observations of ordinary people as well as those of analysts and psychologists illuminate the fact that "our rational conscious behavior coexists with a stream of less rational components of personality, which are both moral and amoral, and which survive from more primitive stages of development"(17, p. 85).

The Williams also describe in a limited way the survey done by the Farmington Trust in England of children's moral thinking between the ages of four and eighteen. Starting with the assumption that different reasons would imply different ways of thinking about problems under consideration and might imply corresponding differences in attitude and motive, the experimenters asked the children about a number of simple moral concepts, such as good, bad, ought, fairness, lying, stealing and bullying. Each child was asked to explain his understanding of each concept and evaluate it as wrong or right, morally. Of the original 17 mutually-exclusive types of answers that were categorized, four were thrown out as ambiguous; then the remaining 13 were reclassified into four categories, excluding the amoral one, which is similar to the Peck and Havighurst first stage. Those four are: empathic responses, expedient responses, authoritarian responses, and irrational-inhibition responses. Four types of moral thinking were also observed, preceded by the premoral stage, as being: self-considering, self-obeying, other-obeying, and other-considering. The four categories and four types were then organized into a kind of matrix into which all answers could be fitted, as follows(17):

Orientation → ↓	(Consequence) CONSIDERING (Thinking)	(Criterion) OBEYING (Referring)
SELF	Expedient Guilt-avoiding Shame-avoiding	Irrational-inhibition Ego-ideal
OTHER	Empathic Theoretical-generalization Rational-utilitarian	Authoritarian Conforming Legalist Mass communications

Their tentative conclusions are these:

1. There is a tendency for children to apply different modes of thought to some of the questions in the interviews;

2. The older the child, the greater is the number of different kinds of responses obtained, and the overlap increases with age;

3. Even at earliest ages, responses belonging to each of the four modes are already present, though perhaps in simple form; this suggests that the four modes are not developmentally sequenced.

In relation to the third conclusion, the modes must represent parallel development in individual time schedules. The authors(17, p. 98) state, "While the four main modes which remain constant recall the Peck and Havighurst material, the consecutive phases described above can be made to fit quite closely with Kohlberg's scheme, or Piaget's work."

The four stages described by Norman Bull(4) comprise another entry in the stage sweepstakes. As he takes issue with Piaget's two-level moral system, Bull sets up an expanded sequence which encompasses Piaget's. Bull listed these four: a) anomy (absence of rule), b) heteronomy (rule of others), c) socionomy (reciprocal rule), and d) autonomy (self-rule). Bull claims that the middle two stages are comparable to Piaget's two stages. According to Bull, Piaget's second stage--rather than describing a truly autonomous moral state--is really more like Bull's third stage of socionomy, in which peer group interaction has the strongest impact on moral development. He claims for his stages a sequential, overlapping, and linked-to-each-other nature, while at the same time rejecting the theories arising from Piaget's formulation.

Bull's criticisms arise because of Piaget's narrow view of morality, as Bull sees it. Bull defends adult authority and regulation as essential to enabling the child to learn what he must about what is expected of him as a moral human being. Bull sees Piaget's failure to point out the learning processes involved in moral development as tantamount to an assumption of a stimulus-response process, the stimuli arising from the social pressures of both adults and peers at different times. He also notes that the Piaget theory makes no allowance for either lesser or greater moral development than that arising predictably from the two moralities he described.

Bull's final criticism relates to Piaget's failure to consider the several variables which may influence in varying degree the pattern of moral development. Bull surmises that socio-economic status, sex, religious background and intelligence might be especially significant, though data do not strongly support his position.

But Piaget needs no defense, for he has not claimed the status of stage theory for his presentation on moral development, nor should he. That presentation provided the same kind of impetus for research on the development of moral thought as many of his other books have stimulated on other kinds of development. Providing the foothold for Lawrence Kohlberg's work in the same area is reason enough for Piaget to have formulated his particular contributions toward the understanding of children's moral thought.

KOHLBERG

Kohlberg today seems to be unquestionably the foremost student of children's moral thought. Having completed an in-depth study of 75 boys between the ages of 10 and 16, Kohlberg formulated his stage theory of the development of moral thought in 1958. He has continued that study to the current time; its results indicate that changes in moral thinking progress sequentially through six qualitatively distinct stages. Kohlberg has written extensively about his theory in both the professional and the popular literature, so that the three levels--preconventional, conventional, and post conventional--and the six stages into which they are divided, two at each level, are widely known. Kohlberg has extended the scope of his investigations in order to validate its premises more broadly, especially in relation to possible cultural variations.

Kohlberg defines his stages in terms of responses to ten hypothetical moral dilemmas, inspired by those Piaget used, which probe the thinking that generate action choices. Consideration of these responses led to the development of twenty-five aspects of moral judgment, each of which is defined specifically and used differently at each of the six stages; these have universal application because they have a formal cognitive base(9). Additional studies and analysis of data support the theory of a developmental sequence in moral attitudes and concepts. The evidence so derived "indicates the inadequacy of conceptions of moralization as a process of simple internalization of external cultural rules, through verbal teaching, punishment, or identification. In contrast, the evidence suggests the existence of a series of internally patterned or organized transformations of social concepts and attitudes, transformations which constitute a developmental process"(7, p. 32).

Kohlberg has readily acknowledged his debt to Piaget's work on moral thought. He has written about the comparison between Piaget's two stages and the first two in his (Kohlberg's) sequence. Kohlberg contrasts his view of his stage I (morality being primarily determined by the child's wish to avoid punishment) to Piaget's view that punishment is accepted as a cue to what is acceptable in an unchanging adult-ordered world. Though Kohlberg recognizes the increased ability of his stage II subject to understand conflicting viewpoints and to internalize this increased understanding as a basis for making judgments, his evidence does not support Piaget's hypothesis of autonomous, mutually-respecting, concerned with intentions and reciprocal needs thinking and behavior(7). But Kohlberg does support six of the eleven moral dimensions of judgment Piaget defines as being genuine developmental aspects during the grammar school years. Though these six--intentionality, relativism, independence of judgment, use of reciprocity, use of punishment and naturalistic views--are stimulated or retarded by cultural influences, Kohlberg seconds their developmental dependence on cognitive growth. His own studies verify this conclusion(7,8,11).

As Kohlberg has criticized Piaget's formulation of the development of moral thought as not meeting the criteria of structural stages, so Kohlberg has been criticized on several counts. Bronfenbrenner in 1962(9) asserts that class, sex and culture are more important determinants of moral development than age-related cognitive growth. But Kohlberg refutes that assertion in cross-cultural studies and critical analyses of his data to remove the influence of variables such as class and sex. Hoffman's criticism(6) of Kohlberg's conclusions that earlier stages decrease with age while later ones increase, and that correlation between two stages decreases as any two stages get farther apart in the sequence to support the hierarchical structure in his theory, is based on the fact that Kohlberg drew this conclusion from the same study in which the subjects' ages were known and important to the stage construction. Kohlberg himself poses another problem relating to the stage theory: that stimuli received by children are either assimilated to present level of functioning or are not received as stimuli at all. Since moral growth probably depends on the presentation of stimuli which are incongruous enough to cause conflict in a child's existing schema and sufficiently congruent to it to be assimilable, there is a distinct problem of appropriate match. Might it be that the cognitive growth which must precede moral growth makes possible the reception of ideas of social order that are inconsistent with those presently providing the affective base for moral judgment?

Peters(13), too, raises some interesting questions about Kohlberg's theory as does Alston(1). Both critics make very perceptive observations about the weaknesses in Kohlberg's theory. These criticisms range from attacks on Kohlberg's ignoring of the role of habits and habituation in moral development through questioning of the centrality of the concept of justice as the overriding determinant of moral growth. Peters asks about the role of teaching as opposed to Kohlberg's idea of cognitive stimulation. What Peters identifies as a semantic difficulty be ween what Kohlberg means by "cognitive stimulation" and Peters' way of defining teaching to include the setting up of learning opportunities cannot be resolved by simply redefining words. Since both Kohlberg and Piaget emphasize the independence of moral growth from adult instruction, there is a clear implication that maximum growth could be achieved without it. Yet both acknowledge the force of interaction with the environment, of which adults must be considered a vital part; and they have recognized the age-related but not age-dependent nature of the stages. Kohlberg seems to be begging the question by admitting the influence of cognitive stimulation on the transitional growth from one stage to the next but not the influence of teaching to enhance and consolidate such growth. Alston takes issue with Kohlberg on his denial or ignoring of the place of affect in moral growth. He claims that Kohlberg has blinders on about all aspects of moral growth other than the cognitive factors. Kohlberg will make a still more significant contribution when he is able to deal effectively with the critical questions raised by his friendly critics. Since Kohlberg has been dealing with the question of the growth of moral reasoning in particular and of morality in general in children for only a little more than twelve years, additional time will allow him to refine, re-evaluate, make new observations and conclusions, and generally improve the substance of his theory.

SUMMARY

This paper represents an effort to critically observe the study of the development of moral judgment in children during this century. It attempts to look, if only cursorily, at the status of present thinking on the issues surrounding this subject and to make a few relevant observations. It now concludes with a statement of strong support for the cognitive-developmental theory of the growth of moral judgment which Kohlberg offers: its weaknesses seem to lie not so much in error as in deficiency--lack of completeness--which may become remedied with continued dedication and application on Kohlberg's part.

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Children's Understanding of Morals

by Lee C. Lee

INTRODUCTION

At birth the child is pre-moral. He begins life incapable of moral judgments and moral behavior. As a neonate, he is bound only by sensations and impulses, but eventually he learns his culture and becomes "moral." When and how does this transformation take place? What is the source of individual morality? What are the psychological processes involved in moral development?

What do we mean when we talk about morality? Morality has been defined as conscience, as a set of cultural rules of social action which has been internalized by the individual. The development of morality has been conceived of as the increase in such internalization of basic cultural rules which involves conflicts and decisions that include others. Moral development, then, is one part of total social development. It is oriented toward the priority of values and concepts of rights and responsibilities regarding social situations.

Most theories of moral development are concerned with some aspect of the internalization process by which external standards (rules for social action) become internal standards or individual moral values. Theorists disagree, however, about what is responsible for this internalization. In other words, what is the nature of this development? Some theorists favor the "stamping-in" notion and espouse an additive model of cognitive and moral development, where an individual's growth is made up of a series of closer and closer approximations to some ideal standard.

Two contrasting stories given by Elliot Turiel(4) are cited as to why this notion is inadequate in explaining the nature of moral development. He saw a five-year-old whose uncle had told him that he had been in jail, although this was not true. At first the child refused to believe the uncle, but finally did. The child did not speak to the uncle for the rest of the day; he only glared at him from across the room. Furthermore, he refused to believe the uncle's later protest of innocence. Compare that story to the following story. When Thoreau was put in jail for civil disobedience, Emerson - very surprised to see him there - rushed to the window of the jail and said, "Henry, what are you doing in there?" Thoreau's reply was, "Waldo, what are you doing out there?" The five-year-old has learned the moral standard of society (which may, of course, be completely wrong) that people who go to jail are bad; but Thoreau, who expresses the opposite of that standard, is certainly not a less moral person for that reason.

It is clear that a small child's thinking is not merely an imperfect copy of an adult's, but that it is structurally different. Thus, the input the individual receives from external circumstances is not the same regardless of his age; rather, it covaries with the changing cognitive structure of his mind to produce a response. By this time, you must have already guessed my bias, or should I say, values? My personal belief is that internalization of cultural standards is a spontaneous sequential development emanating from the interaction of the child's cognitive growth and his social environment. This bias has its roots in Piaget's theory of moral development published when he was the co-director of the Rousseau Institute in Geneva back in 1932.

BACKGROUND - PIAGET'S THEORY

My research efforts in the area of moral development have been solely based on Piaget's theory. In order to understand my research it is necessary to have a clear notion of Piaget's theory of intellectual development and the basic mechanisms of development which he espouses.

Important Processes

First, we will examine some of the important processes Piaget uses to explain development. He believes that there are four factors, each necessary but none sufficient alone, for development to proceed normally. First in importance is the internal factor of physical growth or maturation. For example, a child who has not developed coordination of vision and prehension, who cannot reach for and grasp an object, cannot develop concepts dependent on these physical abilities. Second, experience and exercise of actions performed on objects are essential for development. Piaget believes that to know something, one has to act on it, manipulate it, and explore it. Third, social interaction and cultural transmission are other external factors necessary for optimal development. For example, by playing with his peers the child learns that there are other points of view besides his own. Finally, Piaget posits an equilibration factor. He feels that if development depends on both external and internal factors, then there must be a process which provides a balance and integration of these factors. When a child is learning, he is active and is faced with external disturbances. Each time the child has to cope with a new experience (disturbance), the equilibration process works to achieve balance between that external disturbance and the internal state of the child.

How are these compensations that Piaget talks about achieved? Equilibrium, or balance, is attained by two complementary processes--assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation can be viewed as the process of feedback and feed-forward which operates when the individual attempts to integrate each successive experience into his own personally meaningful system. Experiences that can be assimilated must be based on the child's actions in his environment, and they must be fairly consistent with his present system of thinking or his conceptual framework. The second process, accommodation, can be viewed as the compensatory system whereby the individual's personal mental system of concepts is altered in response to the assimilated actions.

It is obvious that the whole process of equilibration involves change in the child's mental system toward greater understanding. Assimilation filters the experimental input, and the process of accommodation allows alteration in existing structures to handle the new knowledge. In this way, we see that attainment of knowledge or socialization is not merely an imitation of experiences, but rather, a modification and transformation of such experience. This adaptive process is continuous from birth and is essential for development of cognitive structures.

While assimilation and accommodation are the processes involved in transition from one stage to another, Piaget sees _decentration_ as the essential mechanism for the achievement of equilibrium which is associated with transition. Decentration is the movement from one focus to another--from the self to the immediate realities of a situation, to abstract conceptualizations of these realities. Thus, through decentration a higher level or greater capacity for judgment emerges. The mechanism of decentration is essential because it promotes, through the individual's realization of new points of view, changes in the balance of assimilation and accommodation which in turn set the equilibration process in motion.

Stages of Cognitive Development

Piaget believes that there are three main stages of cognitive development. They are distinguished by the cognitive structures which the individual has at his disposal for dealing with the world. All children must go through all of them in the proper order; however, the ages at which they pass through any of them are not of real concern to Piaget. As a matter of fact, he does not seem to address himself to the question of individual differences in rate of cognitive growth, except in a few places - and then only briefly. What he has to say about individual differences will be more comprehensible when I talk about moral development, so I will postpone discussion of that until then.

The first stage of cognitive development is the sensory motor stage, lasting from birth until about eighteen months of age. It corresponds to the initial pre-verbal, pre-symbolic period of life.

The infant comes into the world with two kinds of reflexes--those that are not alterable by experience, such as knee jerks and Babinski, and those that are modifiable by experience, such as grasping and sucking. It is during this stage that practical knowledge is developed through the use of these modifiable reflexes. Using these reflexes, the infant actively carries on countless transactions involving space, time, and matter which build and reshape his developing systems of interrelated concepts (cognitive structures). The resulting structures are the foundations which form the basis of later representational thought. Consider, for example, the developing capacity for object permanence. In the early stages of development, an object no longer exists for the infant when it disappears from his visual field; therefore, he makes no effort to find it. When the infant gets older he tries to find the displaced object, for he knows that the object continues to exist. The infant carries out a physical search for the object rather than using covert thought processes, for he cannot represent the displacement in his mind. He finds the object by localizing it spatially through sensory motor processes; thus, along with the construction of object permanence, there comes the construction of practical or sensory-motor space. Piaget postulates that these series of actions which form the basic structures are indispensible for the structure of later representational thought. Lack of decentration is evident in this stage. The child begins any operation or act in terms of himself. For example, in the sensory motor period the child views the world as a series of momentary and moving pictures which revolve around his own body. Causality to the child may be only actions that he exerts; these actions are neither objectified nor localized by him. However, as the child develops and attains the final phase of sensory motor development, the world is seen as one space, one causality. Decentration from the self takes place; thus, object permanence emerges.

The second stage is the stage of concrete operations; it lasts until approximately ten to eleven years of age. It contains two substages, pre-operational (or formation) and operational (or attainment); these substages are distinguished by the formation and the attainment of reversibility in problem-solving behavior. The child in the pre-operational substage, although he is capable of internal representation of experience, cannot solve a problem which requires that he perform an operation of reversibility in his head. This can be illustrated by one of the conservation problems; its solution requires that the child mentally reverse the sequence of his perceptions. For example, two beakers are presented to the child with equal amounts of liquid in each. Then the liquid in one beaker is poured into a thinner beaker (thus raising its height in the container). The child is then asked if the amount of liquid in the two beakers is the same or if one or the other has more. The pre-operational child will say that there is now a different amount of liquid in each. There are two possible ways he might have solved the problem correctly: one is negation, or undoing mentally the pouring he has just seen, which requires knowing that a cognitive process can take place in opposite directions (e.g., adding and subtracting, joining and separating, pouring into a different sized container and pouring back). The other is reciprocity, or compensation in one dimension for another, which in this problem would lead him to see that, although the tall beaker has a higher level, it is not as wide.

Why can't the pre-operational child perform these operations? He probably can use empirical reversibility; that is, if the experimenter pours the liquid back into the original container, he will say they are equal. The crux of the issue again is decentration; the child is centered on his immediate perceptions and on one perceptual dimension at a time. He has not decentered enough to take into account transformations; perceptual states hold his attention.

In the period of attainment, the child has mastered the processes of negation and reciprocity; indeed, if the experimenter tries to convince him of outcomes contrary to these processes, the child will consider it absurd. Despite the child's excellent grasp of each process, he still cannot use them simultaneously; this ability will not appear until the next stage of cognitive development.

Finally, in the third stage of development, formal operations, this limitation to concrete operations is removed and the two forms of reversibility are united into one operation. At this point in development, the child reaches the level of formal hypothetical deductive operations. The child can now reason about hypotheses and is not limited to objects. He can construct new operations and then systematically combine the prepositions so as to test all possible combinations. This double reversibility permits a greater degree of mobility and coherence of formal thought.

Moral Judgment

How does moral development fit into all this? Consider first what aspect of morality it is that Piaget examines--moral judgment. The child's moral judgments will reflect the same structures as the child exhibits in his cognitive judgments. Thus, Piaget does not look for the presence of specific knowledge (e.g., one should not steal), but rather at the way the child arrives at his judgment and the reasons he gives for it.

How does Piaget think the individual's capacity for moral judgment evolves? Along with the cognitive growth which we have just discussed, there is concomitant emotional growth; Piaget calls this affective development. Affect is the force or energy behind behavior and is developed from early relationships with others. Affective and cognitive development are interdependent, although neither cause the other.

Piaget believes that the capacity for moral judgment develops from this affective base. It evolves concomitantly with cognitive structures and reflects the same processes. For example, a child who has learned to look at an intellectual problem from several points of view is also able to take into account the points of view of others in his emotional relationships. A younger child who has not achieved this level of decentration cannot suspend his own immediate perception either in the case of cognitive or emotional problem solving. Furthermore, the child must achieve decentration in both domains, for the two are inseparable. Here we can see the importance of social experience, because it is through interaction with others that the child learns there are points of view other than his own. Piaget implies that the child who does not have adequate social experience to achieve decentration in the affective realm will also not achieve it in the cognitive realm. He also implies that it is the affective component which accounts for some of the individual differences in cognitive growth. Let us now re-examine the three stages of cognitive development for their affective components.

Piaget's(2,3) explanation of affective development in the sensory motor period is a pre-moral stage, but its progress is crucial for further moral development. Piaget agrees with Anna Freud, who posited that this initial period is one of "primary narcissism" in which there is an initial lack of differentiation between the self and the "other." Insofar as the self remains undifferentiated, and thus unconscious of itself, all affectivity is centered on the child's own body and action. Later in this stage there is a decentering of affectivity onto the person who has cared for the child. When the child ceases to relate everything to his own state and to his own action and begins to substitute a universe of permanent objects structured according to causality, his affectivity also becomes attached to the localizable, permanent objects that his caretakers come to be. Hence the formation of "object relations" (initial affectivity for other persons) is in close connection with the development of object permanence.

In this initial phase of the concrete operational period (2-7 years) moral feelings emerge from the discipline of the parents who demand unilateral obedience. Thus, the centration here has moved from the child himself to adult authority. During this state whenever moral feelings do exist, conservation is absent. That is, a child at this stage can carry out certain rules imposed by parents, but the permanence of the reaction is not yet established. When the parents are absent, these rules are not followed because there is no external control. Rules imposed and carried out during this period are not generalized and, therefore, not conserved (just as the quantity of water is not conserved when it is poured into a different beaker). For example, Piaget found that children during this period feel that to tell the truth is an obligation toward parents, but they can lie to peers since this has never been forbidden. Instructions not to lie are accepted at a particular time or for a particular situation, without any kind of generalization. Due to the child's lack of reversible thought operations, such moral demands are "external" to the child, and therefore appear to him as though they were physical phenomena.

In play with peers, the child in the period of formation believes that rules were handed down by an external authority (Daddy or God, usually) and cannot be changed. Nevertheless, children until about age 7 consent to many changes in the rules, which seems to be a contradiction but is understandable in terms of how well the child knows the rules. Each child believes that he knows a set of rules; however, each child usually plays by a different set which he grasps so poorly that he accepts changes by another person as though they were corrections, especially from an authority figure. So children from about four to seven play the same game happily side by side, concentrating on their own performance, and not checking up on one another. Winning is having a good time, so everybody wins and nobody loses.

After this period, they know the rules; but until about age ten, they still consider them immutable.

In a question of assigning blame or punishment, the child's unilateral respect (focus on a superior authority) leads to moral realism. That is, the child makes moral judgments on the basis of real, not subjective, concerns. For instance, if a child is asked who should receive severe punishment or is more to blame - a boy who breaks many cups which he didn't know were behind a door he opened in response to his mother's call or a boy who breaks one cup sneaking some cookies - the pre-operational child considers the first child more to blame and prescribes a more severe punishment for him. His justification is in terms of the amount of damage; the first child broke more cups than the second. To this child the question of intention is not at issue. Similarly, a child who tells a whopper playfully is considered more at fault than one who tells a small lie maliciously.'

Piaget uses the term, heteronomy, for such morality of obedience and realism. This then declines to make way for autonomy, which is based on mutual respect, rather than on blind obedience to authority. Autonomy first manifests itself in game-playing in a stage of incipient cooperation, where children have mastered the rules and are able to agree on a set by which everyone will play in order to play the game fairly; however, autonomy does not really replace heteronomy until the child has a good sense of mutual respect, which is based on reciprocity of esteem.

The acquisition of autonomy in the moral sphere corresponds to the substage of attainment of concrete operations. With advances in social cooperation and the decline of constraints by authority, the child arrives at new moral relationships based on mutual respect. These new moral feelings are equivalent to conservation in the cognitive domain. The child attains a decentration from authority in the form of reciprocity. For example, a child may first learn to share his toys through the demands of the mother. The actions the child carries out at first are not because of an underlying understanding of the basis of sharing, but because of a unilateral obedience to the mother. When the mother is absent, however, the child ceases to share his toys. Peers' reactions to his unwillingness to share cause a disturbance state in the child due to their unwillingness to play with him further. Repeated disturbances of this kind are finally equilibrated through assimilation and accommodation until the child reaches a cognitive capacity for reversible thought operations. He is then able to conserve the actions of sharing through reasoning and reciprocity resulting in a basic understanding of mutual cooperation. Such reciprocal morality is also an autonomous morality, since it is no longer related to transactions between authority and the child, but between peers on an equal basis. However, at this initial stage of autonomous morality the child is now centered on the real, the immediate and the concrete situations with their associated inflexibility. This inflexibility is illustrated in the prominence of the feeling of justice in interactions between children of the same age. With the attainment of formal operational thought, new moral feelings are added to and integrated with the preceding feelings, all of which correspond to these new operational structures. Due to the mobility and flexibility of thought at this more advanced stage, feelings become decentered from persons or material realities and become more adequate for dealing with social realities and ideals (e.g., humanitarianism, which is the ideological stage of autonomous morality).

Summary

In conclusion we see that Piaget believes that the child progresses from a stage of sensory motor lack of morality to a stage of pre-operational thought, to that of concrete operational thought, and finally to a stage of formal operational thought. In terms of the centration-decentration process, the child moves from centration on himself, to centration on authority, to centration on objects, and finally to a higher level of decentration in which he is able to deal with ideals and social realities. In the realm of moral judgment, this means that the child progresses from a stage of heteronomy and unilateral respect to one of autonomy and mutual respect. Thus, Piaget asserts that growth in moral judgment is necessarily a concomitant of intellectual development. (For clarification, an outline of Piaget's system is presented in Table 1.)

THE RESEARCH

These hypotheses posed by Piaget certainly seem plausible. The research(1) I am about to discuss specifically tests Piaget's chief underlying assumption that changes in cognitive structures are related directly to comparable changes in moral judgments.

Hypotheses

The explicit hypotheses are: 1) authority oriented moral judgments develop concomitantly with the period of pre-operational thought, 2) as children move forward into the next stage of concrete operational thought, moral judgments will be based on cooperation and reciprocity, and 3) there will be a final stage of formal operations with moral judgments based on ideals.

Procedure

The general design of the study involved the testing of 195 boys (15 boys from each grade, kindergarten through twelfth, with social class, sibling position and IQ level held constant) on a series of six Piagetian tasks to assess their level of cognitive functioning.

Each boy's performance of these cognitive tasks was used to predict his level of moral judgment. Levels of moral judgments were determined by his responses to nine different morally conflicting story situations. These stories were designed to measure a child's centration on authority vs. peer cooperation vs. humanitarian acts.

The main interest of the present investigation was to ascertain whether there exists a relationship between cognitive and moral modes of thought, and, if such relationships exist, how they relate to each other. The original cognitive test scores were not used directly, since this study was interested in testing Piaget's hypothesis of differential cognitive structures in relation to the different levels of moral conceptualization. Factor analysis was done to identify the separate (orthogonal) components of the cognitive stages. Each subject's six cognitive test scores were transformed into factor scores defining the three separate cognitive components of: 1) general cognition, 2) concrete operations, and 3) formal operations. These factor scores were used to relate to the various modes of moral conceptualization. Pearsonian correlations were used to test the relationship between each cognitive component and each moral mode of response, thus producing the correlational matrix presented in Table 2. The general cognitive component, as an overall predictor, provided the best predictions on all levels of moral conceptualization. However, there was also a high correlation to age. The concrete operations component is a good predictor of decrease of authority responses, while the formal operations is a good predictor of societal responses. These two specific components of cognition are not as highly related to age as the general cognitive component. Since both modes of thought are influenced by increasing age, an attempt was made to eliminate their common dependence on it. As can be observed in Table 2, the general cognitive component's relationship to the different moral modes of responses has markedly decreased, while the two specific cognitive components and their relationships to the various moral modes of response did not change substantially when age was partialled out.

According to Piaget's theoretical conceptualization, age 10 is the approximate age when the onset of formal operations takes place. The sample was, therefore, divided into two subsamples, one with subjects of ages 5 through 10 and the other of ages 10 through 17. A post hoc analysis was made of this data. Table 3 shows the relationships obtained between the moral and cognitive modes of thought for the two subsamples. In general, it shows that the concrete component of cognitive functioning is best related to a decrease of authority type responses independent of age, and to concomitant increases in reciprocity responses in the moral modes of conceptualization. The formal operations component of cognitive functioning is best related to the increase of societal type responses.

Further support that cognitive and moral modes of thought covary according to their respective modes of conceptualization is found in the transition functions among the two dimensions as age progresses. Using a special case of the point biserial correlation, the transition functions were found to be dissimilar within the individual modes of thought but similar across modes of thought. Figure 1 shows that the cognitive domain of negation is related to a decreasing function of authority responses. Figure 2 shows that the reciprocal cognitive functions are positively related to reciprocity in the moral realm, and Figure 3 shows that the formal operations are related to the societal mode of moral conceptualization. If the transition functions were compared within the two dimensions, the functions are dissimilar. Thus, the findings clearly support Piaget's thesis of concomitant "growth" of the two modes of thought.

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TABLE 1

OUTLINE OF PIAGET'S STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Stages	Cognitive Structures	Affective Structures (Moral Development)
1. Sensory motor	Modifiable reflexes are used to develop knowledge Child is active Child is egocentric Little notion of causality At end object permanence develops	(Same as Freud) Child does not differentiate self from "other" Primary narcissism At end object relations develops; differentiation takes place; child begins to be attached to caretaker
2. Concrete-operational (a) Formation	Language begins No conservation or reversibility Centrated on one aspect Lack of logic	Child obeys parents--unilateral respect; when parents are absent, disobeys No cooperation Heteronomy Child is centered on authority
(b) Attainment	Reversible processes Reciprocity or Negation Can conserve Concrete objects important	Autonomy Mutual respect--cooperation Equal with peers Child is centered on real situations, person, objects Justice is important
3. Formal operational	Deductive thought Simultaneous operations Not limited to objects Can construct hypothetically	Decentered from situations Can deal with ideal situations, humanitarianism, etc. Ideology

TABLE 2

CORRELATIONS OF COGNITIVE COMPONENTS, MORAL RESPONSES AND AGE
(Age 5 through 17)

	Moral Levels				
Cognitive Components	Authority	Authority Reciprocity	Reciprocity	Societal	Chronological Age
General	-704*	-364*	264*	611*	789*
	(-573)*	(-102)	(261)*		
Concrete	-524*	139	186	064	111
	(-546)*				
Formal	-092	-324*	-006	605*	420*
		(-191)		(502)*	

Age	-508*	-388*	133	503*	
	*p <.01	df = 193 (df = 192)			

Note: Figures in parentheses are first-order correlations when age was partialled out.

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS OF COGNITIVE COMPONENTS, MORAL RESPONSES AND AGE for the Two Subsamples

Young Group: Age 5 through 10

	Moral Levels				
Cognitive Components	Authority	Authority Reciprocity	Reciprocity	Societal	Chronological Age
General	-750*	-198	340*	534*	814*
	(-586)*		(142)	(401)*	
Concrete	-650*	040	438*	283*	413*
	(-553)*		(378)*	(144)	
Formal	388*	-185	-175	-131	-208
	(336)*				

Age	-581*	-091	322*	393*	

*p <.01

df = 88
(df = 87)

Note: Figures in parentheses are first-order correlations when age was partialled out.

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Older Group: Age 10 through 17

Cognitive Components	Moral Levels				Chronological Age
	Authority	Authority Reciprocity	Reciprocity	Societal	
General	-269*	-414*	206	281*	500*
	(-208)	(-314)*		(186)	
Concrete	238	225	-188	-296*	-429*
				-(216)	
Formal	-257*	-315*	189	443*	432*
	(-201)	(-211)		(384)*	

Age	-183	-311*	145	250	

*p <.01

df = 118
(df = 117)

Note: Figures in parentheses are first-order correlations when age was partialled out.

FIGURES

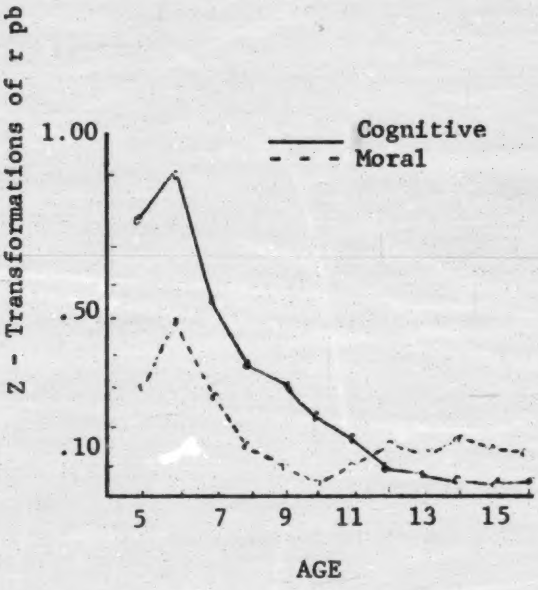

Figure 1. Transition Functions for the Cognitive Tasks of Reciprocal Operations and Moral Judgment Based on Reciprocity.

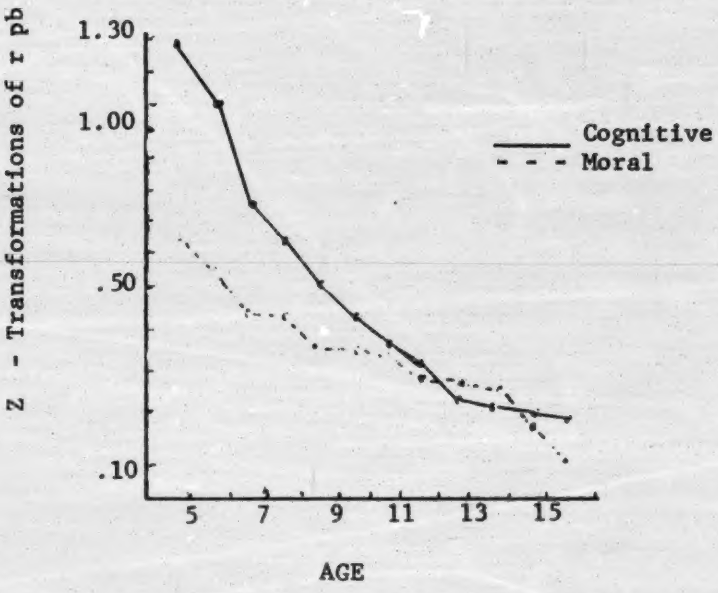

Figure 2. Transition for the Cognitive Tasks of Negation and Moral Judgment Based on Authority.

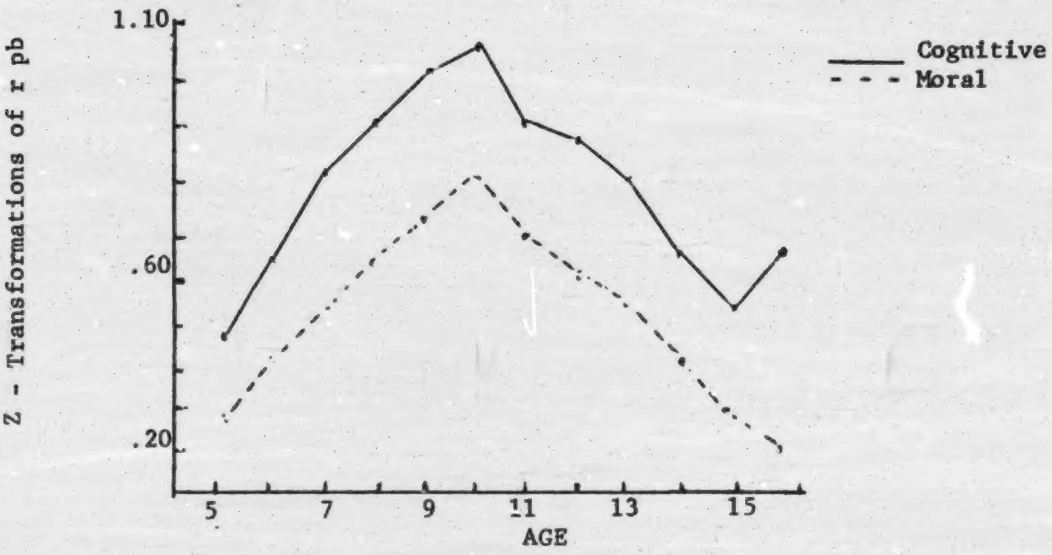

Figure 3. Transition Functions for the Cognitive Tasks of Formal Operations and Moral Judgment Based on Societal Order.

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Mass Media and Moral Development

by Aletha Huston Stein

INTRODUCTION

The effects of mass media, primarily television, on the moral development and values of young children are a major social concern. These terms are defined rather broadly in this paper to provide a useful framework for evaluating the potential effects of the mass media. Values are defined as the types of behavior that are considered good or bad and the types of people who are considered good or important. Moral development is conceptualized as having two components. One component is moral judgment or the processes by which children make decisions about the rightness or wrongness of actions. Most of the research on moral judgment is based on Piaget's or Kohlberg's conceptions of stages of moral judgment based partly on the overall cognitive development of the child.

The second component and the one with which this paper is concerned is moral behavior. For a long time, the study of children's moral behavior was heavily influenced by psychoanalytic theory and its derivatives in social learning theory. Partly for that reason, the focus was primarily on guilt, resistance to temptation, responses to deviation from moral rules and other behaviors that were thought to indicate "conscience." That is, morality was defined rather narrowly as the ability to inhibit impulses and to experience guilt if you failed to inhibit some forbidden behavior. In recent years, the concern of many developmental researchers has shifted to more positive forms of behavior such as helping, sharing, altruistic acts, expressing sympathy and other forms of social interaction that are generally considered prosocial. The term "positive" is used not as a value judgment so much as an indicator that morality often involves taking action, not just inhibiting action. There are sins of omission as well as commission. Even the process of inhibiting impulsive action can be conceptualized better as self-regulation that involves knowing when to inhibit and when to express impulses rather than sheer suppression of forbidden actions.

Using these rather broad criteria for defining values and moral development, three major issues are examined. First, the types of values and moral examples that are prevalent in current commercial television fare are discussed. Second, the apparent effects of that type of television content on children's values and moral behavior are examined. The final section examines the potential of television for conveying very different moral messages than it currently contains with some of the literature showing the types of moral behavior that can be taught to young children through the media.

CONTENT OF COMMERCIAL TELEVISION

George Gerbner(8) and his colleagues(13) have conducted the most extensive content analyses of commercial television programs that are available. I will rely primarily on their findings to describe the values apparent in television fiction. They analyzed an entire week of programs on the three major networks during prime time and Saturday mornings from 1967 to 1969. These analyses were directed toward identifying the role of violence in television content, so the values conveyed are related in some way to violence.

Violence and direct power assertion are portrayed as legitimate and valuable ways of dealing with conflict or reaching a goal. Violence is used as frequently by the "good guys" as by the "bad guys." It results in positive outcomes almost as often as it results in negative outcomes. Perhaps more disturbing is the fact that criminal, illegal, and socially disapproved activities are also frequently presented as justified and successful modes of action. In some content analyses by Larsen, Gray, and Fortis(14), socially disapproved methods of goal-attainment, including violence, were more likely to be successful than socially approved methods. In an early analysis, Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince(11) found that good behavior alone rarely achieved success.

The values being conveyed are that "violence is a legitimate and successful means of attaining a desired end"(13, p. 335) and that violations of law or social norms are also frequently justified. It is worth noting that sexual behavior, even in the context of marriage, is almost always followed by negative consequences on television.

Perhaps more pervasive are the values concerning what types of people are important, good or powerful. Gerbner(8) argues that physical violence in fictional television programs is symbolic of more general power-assertion in real life. That is, the types of characters who use violence successfully are portraying the types of people who are successful in the society. To the extent that there are specific groups who are portrayed as successful or unsuccessful, television is conveying and perpetuating different social stereotypes.

In brief, the message that seems to be conveyed is that white, American, middle-class, young and middle-aged males are the most important, most powerful and most successful group of people. Individuals who do not fit one or more of those categories are less important and are less likely to succeed. I base these generalizations on two types of measures from Gerbner's studies: 1) the frequency of appearance of different groups as leading characters, 2) the frequency with which different groups engage in violence contrasted with the frequency with which they are victims of violence. That is, if you examine how often women, for example, engage in violence in relation to how often they are victims of violence, you have some index of how successful and powerful they are supposed to be. High rates of being on the receiving end of violence suggest a relatively low status for a given group.

The mere frequency of leading characters conveys some messages to children about who the interesting and important people in the world are. Approximately 3/4 of the leading characters are male. In cartoons, about 90% of the leading characters are male; very few are not identifiable by sex. Further, women are cast in limited roles, usually involving romantic or family themes. Most of their roles involve some suggestion of sex(8, p. 45). Men are shown in much more diverse roles than women. When women are cast in roles other than romance and family, they usually die or fail in some way.

Other groups who are given low status by infrequent representation include children, adolescents, old people and people of lower social class. About 90% of the leading characters are young or middle-aged adults and the great majority are either middle class or their social class is unidentifiable. There is a small representation of upper classes (about 20%) and virtually no explicit representation of lower classes (about 4%)(7,8). Females, non-whites and foreigners are relatively more likely to be victims of violence than their white male American counterparts. While females engage in violence much less often than males, the rate with which they are the victims of violence exceeds their rate of behaving violently. For males, this is not the case. Non-whites and foreigners are portrayed as behaving very violently; they are even more often the victims of violence. Two messages seem to be conveyed by this pattern. On the one hand, non-whites and foreigners are dangerous and violent. On the other hand, they are likely to fail and really have little power.

The discussion so far has focused on violence and the values of the society symbolized in violent television portrayals. Unfortunately, there are not to my knowledge such detailed content analyses of other aspects of television programs.

It appears that many values about family living and human relationships are conveyed in situation comedies and the like, but these have yet to be explored in depth.

In summary, the predominant values conveyed in commercial television fare are that aggression and illegal activity are frequently successful and morally justified, that a good end justifies almost any means. Children are likely to view the consequences of an action as an important indicator of its moral "rightness" or "wrongness," so the successful consequences of violence are especially important in this context. Current television fare also conveys differential value and importance for various groups of people. Females, the very young and the very old, lower classes, non-whites and foreigners are presented as relatively unimportant and powerless.

EFFECTS OF CURRENT TELEVISION ON MORAL BEHAVIOR

There has been a recent flurry of research and concern about the effects of television on children's behavior, but again, most of it has been concerned with the effects of violence on aggressive behavior. Aggression can certainly be considered under the rubric, "moral behavior" or immoral behavior, but there are other forms of behavior that are affected by violent programs.

In a study that Lynette Friedrich and I did a couple of years ago, we attempted to explore the effects of aggressive television programming on a wide range of children's behavior(21). The study was experimental, but it was conducted in a natural setting--a nursery school. We divided 93 preschool children into three television viewing groups. One group watched a series of Batman and Superman cartoons; a second group watched a series of Misterogers Neighborhood programs; the third watched "neutral films." Thus, we had a group exposed to aggressive cartoons, one exposed to prosocial programs, and a neutral control group. The neutral films were selected to have little or no aggressive or prosocial content. They included nature films, visits to the post office, and so on. We observed the children for a three-week baseline period before they began watching the programs. Then each group saw twelve programs spread out over the next four weeks and were observed in free play. Finally, we observed them during a two week post-viewing period. The prosocial programming will be discussed later. The effects of the aggressive programs are most pertinent at this point. In particular, I want to point out their effects on behaviors other than aggression.

Three of the behavior categories used in observing the children were grouped conceptually as "self-regulation." One of these categories was "rule obedience." It included any behavior that conformed to the nursery school rules when there was a clear choice and when it was performed in the absence of adult supervision. Things like picking up toys and putting them away without being told were scored as rule obedience. When we compared the changes in rule obedience from the baseline period to the television viewing period for the children in the three viewing conditions, we found that those who had watched the aggressive programs dropped in their level of rule obedience, and those who had watched prosocial programs had increased. The neutral group fell in between. There was some tendency, then, for children who viewed aggressive programs to become less "rule obedient" than the other groups.

The second behavior category classified under self-regulation was tolerance of delay. This category reflected patient waiting by the child when he could not do something he wanted to do right away. It was scored when children waited for help they had requested from the teacher if she were busy. It might also involve waiting for a piece of equipment that was being used by another child. The differences among television viewing groups on tolerance of delay were very marked. Children who saw the aggressive programs showed a marked drop in tolerance of delay; children in the other two conditions increased. There was a clear and significant difference between those viewing Batman and Superman and those viewing neutral or prosocial programs. We felt safe in concluding that the aggressive programs led to a reduction in tolerance of delay.

We also observed cooperation, sharing, and other forms of positive interpersonal behavior in the study. Aggressive television did not affect these behaviors, but another experimental study found reduced sharing after children viewed aggressive cartoons(10). In that study, children were shown aggressive cartoons, non-aggressive cartoons or no cartoons. Then pairs of children were observed playing with a toy that had a peephole through which a movie could be seen. Only one child at a time could see through the hole. Both aggressive behavior and sharing the toy were scored. While there were no differences in aggressive behavior as a function of television viewing, the children who had seen the aggressive cartoons shared less than the other groups.

All of these findings suggest that aggressive television programs, particularly cartoons, may have adverse affects on some aspects of self-regulation and positive social interactions. As there are so few investigations exploring behaviors other than aggression, these results must be treated as suggestive rather than as conclusive.

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

I have deliberately given attention to behavior other than aggression, but I will summarize briefly the findings concerning aggressive behavior as well. In the Stein & Friedrich(21) study, we observed physical and verbal aggression in the classroom. For the analysis, we divided the children into those who were above and below the median during the baseline period. For those above the median in the baseline period, there were significant differences in aggressive behavior change among the three television viewing groups. Children who watched the aggressive programs were more aggressive than those who saw the neutral programs. The group viewing the prosocial programs was close to the neutral group. For children who were below the median during the baseline period, there were no effects of the television programs. It appeared, therefore, that the children who were initially above average in aggression were stimulated to show aggressive behavior when they watched violent cartoons. There is a vast array of data from other studies supporting the conclusion that aggressive behavior is likely to increase as a result of watching violent television(16).

In summary, there is extensive evidence that violent television programs lead to increased aggressive behavior for many children in many settings. There is some evidence that they also result in reduced tolerance for minor frustrations, obedience of rules and sharing. What about the more direct "moral" content of television programs? There is extensive crime and other forms of illegal and immoral behavior in television programming. What effect does that have on behavior? To answer this question, we must turn to the experimental literature on imitation because there are no systematic studies in a more naturalistic context. One hears occasional anecdotes of a person reporting that he got the idea for his crime from a television program, but there are obvious difficulties in doing research in this area.

In experimental studies, children do imitate models who engage in mild deviations from rules or moral values(12). There are many reasons, however, why these results might not apply to real television programs. One reason that is frequently cited is that crime and immorality are usually punished in television drama. Therefore, the message that is being taught is that crime does not pay. As we have seen earlier, it is not always the case that illegal activity is punished. Even if it were punished consistently, the experimental research literature suggests that children would learn about such immoral behavior and, in some instances, would imitate it.

A number of studies have been conducted in which children have observed models engaging in some deviant act and being punished for it. Children observing such models have been compared with those who saw models behaving deviantly and being rewarded, or receiving no consequences and with children who have not seen any models. In most of these studies, though not all, children who have seen the punished model show less deviant behavior themselves than those who have seen the model not punished. Seeing the model punished typically results in levels of deviation that are similar to the no model control groups(12). In these experimental studies, then, one can conclude that seeing a deviant model who is punished leads to little alteration in behavior--it neither promotes nor inhibits deviant behavior.

There is real question about whether this conclusion can be generalized to television programming. In real television programs, there are a number of conditions that make it more difficult to connect actions with consequences than it is in a short film made for an experimental study. There is often a great deal of time between the act and its consequences and the consequences are often less clear and less salient because they are embedded in a complex story line. In one piece of recent research, Leifer and Roberts(15) examined the effects of positive and negative consequences in real television programs on children's behavior. They studied the effects of positive and negative consequences for aggressive behavior on children's aggressive responding. As in the case of morally deviant behavior, experimental studies have shown that children imitate aggression less when the model is punished than when he experiences no consequences or reward. Nevertheless, Leifer and Roberts found that consequences portrayed on television did not differentially affect children's aggressive responding. Their subjects responded to television violence with increased aggression regardless of whether the violent behavior was rewarded or punished. Thus, they found that the phenomenon that works very nicely in the relatively uncontaminated conditions of the laboratory did not hold up for real television programs. Although this study dealt with aggression, it suggests that showing morally deviant behavior on television may lead to imitation even when it is punished.

The effects of current television fare on children's moral behavior may be summarized as follows. Violent programming may reduce self-regulation or self-control and some types of prosocial interpersonal behavior. The evidence is fairly clear that such programs lead to increased interpersonal aggression in a wide variety of settings. The effects of presenting crime, illegal actions and other morally deviant behavior on television have received less attention than aggression. In experimental studies of imitation, children do imitate minor deviations from rules. In those instances, if they observe punishment to a model who deviates, they do not show increases in deviant behavior. The punishment to the model apparently counteracts the instigation to deviant behavior provided by the model's example. This conclusion cannot be generalized safely to real television programs at this time, however. The consequences portrayed in these programs do not appear to have as much impact as those used in experimental studies, so there may in fact be increased deviant behavior as a result of such acts on television despite the fact that they are punished in the end.

POTENTIAL OF TELEVISION FOR POSITIVE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN'S MORAL DEVELOPMENT

The picture presented thus far is a dismal one. Many of the values and moral lessons presented in commercial television are in conflict with socially accepted practices. There is a possibility, however, for television to serve more positive ends by presenting a different set of values. There is a small amount of evidence on real television programs that attempt to promote prosocial values, and the experimental research literature on imitation suggests some of the effects that television could have with proper programming.

Prosocial programming with an emphasis on moral behavior as it was defined earlier is very rare, even with the growth of several new children's programs that are doing other admirable things. In our own research, we selected the Misterogers Neighborhood program because it emphasizes prosocial and moral behavior rather than cognitive skills. In the experimental study described earlier(21), both self-regulation and interpersonal behavior were affected by viewing the Misterogers program. The effects on some aspects of self-regulation were more clear-cut and more durable than the effects on interpersonal behavior. Two indexes of self-regulation were discussed earlier: rule obedience and tolerance of delay. The third behavior that was categorized as self-regulation was task persistence in tasks that he or she selected in free play. Children who saw Misterogers increased in task persistence, while those in the neutral and aggressive television groups decreased in persistence. There were trends for greater rule obedience following the Misterogers program, but no effects on delay tolerance. In these three categories of self-regulation, then, we found some positive effects of a program that very gently emphasizes themes relating to practicing to do things well, learning rules to help do things, and related content.

The effects of this program on interpersonal behavior such as cooperation and sharing were complicated by the social class of the subjects. For the lower SES (socio-economic-status) children in the sample, positive interpersonal behavior increased in the group that viewed Misterogers. This behavior did not change when lower SES children viewed neutral or aggressive programs. That fits our prediction nicely. The higher SES children, however, did not show this effect. Though the differences among television groups were small for higher SES subjects, the direction was the reverse of our prediction. Thus, we found positive effects of viewing Misterogers on interpersonal behavior for lower SES subjects only.

Experimental studies of imitation show many types of prosocial behavior that might be affected by appropriate television presentations. Observation of models is generally effective in increasing altruism(4,5,9,18), helping(19), delay of gratification(3,20) and setting high standards for self-reward(1,17,22).

Moral judgments can also be altered in either a mature or immature direction through observation(2,6). These conclusions apply generally to elementary school age children; few studies have been conducted with younger children. These results cannot be applied directly to the effects of television programming, however. In most of the research on altruism, helping and other prosocial behavior, the testing situation is similar or identical to the one in which the model was observed; the situation is a very artificial one; testing follows immediately after observing the model; and the model's behavior is simple, clear and unambiguous. All of these factors probably increase the likelihood of imitation. We still need considerable research to determine in what ways television programs that do not have all these features can affect prosocial behavior in the real world of children's lives.

SUMMARY

All of this evidence shows promise for the television medium to affect children's moral behavior in a positive direction. We are gathering more information on the impact of the Misterogers Neighborhood program in our current research, but other programs need to be developed and studied. For instance, there is a need for more programs stressing prosocial themes that appeal to the elementary school age level. At the same time, the imitation studies need to be extended in ways that permit more generalization to television in a naturalistic context.

Commercial television as it currently exists presents moral content and values that are often contrary to the predominant values of the society. It emphasizes violence and illegal action; it perpetuates a system in which groups of people are devalued because of sex, race, age and other such criteria. There is good reason to believe that this type of television content affects children's moral behavior. It frequently leads to increased aggression; there is also reason to believe that it results in lowered self-control and greater likelihood of morally deviant behaviors. Nevertheless, television as it exists now is a large commercial enterprise that is not likely to change even with the extensive evidence that violence may be harming children. They might change if alternatives were presented to them. There is good reason to believe that many positive moral values and behaviors can be conveyed to children through television presentations. If such presentations draw audiences, they provide some alternative for commercial television producers. What we as researchers can do is to identify the components that help to make a program effective both in attracting children's interest and in producing some positive effects on their behavior.

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Matching Communication Pace with Children's Cognitive Styles

by John C. Wright

INTRODUCTION

I'd like to take you on an informal and speculative trip--a kind of theory trip--which I hope will serve to pull together a diversity of facts regarding children, the messages we try to transmit to them and, most interestingly to me, some formal properties of children's public television.

If you are like me, as soon as you get your first chance to use a video recorder, you are smitten; you are involved in a great game and collect a lot more data and material than you can ever look at or listen to. One of the things you can do with your new video recorder that's a lot more fun than poking your camera up and down the halls and in your friends' offices, is to use your monitor as a receiver to tape broadcast programs off the air.

If you tape children's programs off the air, and look at them over and over again as we have, several things will happen. First of all, you will not get bored out of your mind; you will get hooked. They are absolutely fascinating to study whether you are watching commercials, Saturday morning Road Runners or Sesame Street.

Another thing that will happen is that if you have your stop watch and your clipboard with you, and if you're a systematic observer of your environment, you will be tempted to start scoring things--just anything, just to take it apart, to see what's there, what makes it familiar and whom it's made for. It's certainly made for me, but I'm not the target population for Sesame Street (SS) or Misterogers

Neighborhood (MR). We'd need to know something about the target population.

There are several philosophies of aiming media materials. Some people want as large an audience as possible. Children's Television Workshop has taken this position; so Sesame Street, The Electric Company, and Zoom are aimed at a mass audience. That means perhaps that you speak to the lowest common denominator because you don't want to be over the head of your target audience, and you don't want to be considered "square." If not the lowest common denominator, then at least you shoot for the largest common denominator, especially urban children. When you're going for the largest possible audience, you may find yourself compromising with what you'd like to say and relying more on tricks and stunts because you're afraid that some viewers may be lost. They are the passive consumers; you are the performer, and you have to please them. MR, on the otherhand, seems to be directed at suburban and small-town middle America--children who find a slow, even pace more familiar and who may be willing to take a more active role in their own entertainment.

I want to consider whether the actual moment-to-moment structure of television programs for children can in part be matched to the cognitive level, style, preferences or state of readiness of the target population, when the latter are known. Most of the matching that gets done is on the basis of age or maturity of the audience and the inoffensive values of pop-culture, and such matching has been mostly on the basis of content. I propose that it makes a difference as to how the structural features of format intersect the thinking and perceiving styles of the viewer. When a match is achieved between the structural properties of program format and the viewers' style of thinking and perceiving, two things should result. First, the viewer's sustained interest and attention is achieved, and therefore, the content or message has a greater opportunity to be perceived, understood and remembered, as well as to be acted upon.

Of course the structural properties of a program in fact are not fully independent of its content or message, and indeed such structural features as pace, continuity, use of animation and special effects themselves imply certain ways of perceiving and judging the world.

But what I propose to do is outline some differences among young viewers in how they perceive and process information, and then show how different programming styles and philosophies now being followed produce differential likelihoods of getting different messages across to different children.

THE VARIABLES

In order to relate program structure to characteristics of the child, Table 1 presents a matrix of two rows and three columns. The first row has to do with properties of the child and the second has to do with properties of the program material. There are three columns, having to do with analogous pairs of variables at which we might look. By pairs I mean we have something in each column about a child and an analogous feature of the program, which generate an opportunity for matching.

The first of these columns has to do with children's attention spans. How long will they keep watching? How long can you hold their attention on the tube? Forever? Or do you have to do something to keep them looking? When we get down to talking about program materials, I'll be discussing the salience of events on the tube as they happen. Are they really attention grabbing? Do they have special effects? Do they have rapid-pace action? Do they have surprising things happen or unnatural things happen? Do they have loud noises or sudden changes in illumination or unlikely outcomes and the like? We're also talking about the rate of things that happen; how fast do things fly at you?

The second column has to do with children's habituation of attention. This is a common variable used in research with children; we've been using it to find out whether they get tired rather quickly, or not so quickly, of seeing the same thing over and over, or the same thing with slight variations. Some children can keep watching the same thing with very slight variations almost indefinitely. For others the program must change constantly and rapidly to hold their attention. So the program variable associated with habituation rate in the child will be the degree of repetition versus variability over time in the content material, in the style and in the format.

The third column has to do with sequences of children's thinking over time. We're going to contrast two of them -- convergent and divergent. (The work of Dr. J.P. Guilford(1) at U.C.L.A. has made a clear distinction between these two kinds of thinking over time.) Thinking which begins at one place and spreads out to consider all kinds of ramifications of one particular assumption is divergent over time. Convergent thinking starts with any one of a number of assumptions and zeroes in on a single, terminal conclusion, resolution or right answer. You might consider divergent thinking to have something to do with creativity and a person's ability to produce new and fluent outcomes given a single starting point; you might think of convergent thinking as being a person's ability to put together discrepant pieces of information and come up with the right answer or a satisfactory resolution of a problem.

We're going to ask about children's television programming: What percent of the time are the episodes that we see resolved as if there is a single right answer? We distinguish between a fixed outcome where the viewer will find the convergent answer and those segments which are more germinal--those which say here's something that happens, what do you think? Where do you go from here? Spin it off on your own. That's the six-cell matrix we're working from.

Let me make some assertions which have yet to be proved; we intend to take steps to prove them. First of all, when the match between the structural properties of the program format and the particular style of looking and thinking of the perceiver or the viewer is a good one, we expect two outcomes. First, that the viewer's sustained attention to what's going on on the tube is achieved and maintained; and second, therefore, the content--especially some of the values, some of the more subtle features of the content--have a greater opportunity of being perceived, understood and remembered as well as possibly being acted upon. This should hold true regardless of the compatibility between the content and the particular attitudes, values, opinions and preferences of the viewer. In other words, you might be able, if you could maintain that good communication with the viewer, to persuade him to turn around 180^{o}, and change his previous values to be more in line with yours. I hope that that's not too easy to do. It makes me a little nervous when I'm around the behavior modifiers to see how easy it is for them to influence values along with behavior. On the other hand, if we are going to see that children benefit from the media instead of letting commercial interests control it, we had better know how to reach children and we had better know how to prove we're doing it well.

But the structural properties of the program itself may also relate to the content. Perhaps you can't portray the gentle, thoughtful, well-paced, individually caring nature of Mr. Rogers in a format like that of Sesame Street which says "look at this! look at that! bang, bang, bang!" There are certain aspects of content that are incompatible with certain kinds of style or format.

THE TV PROGRAMS STUDIED

We have studied about 20 hours of two children's programs, which we think are about as different as children's programs can be: Sesame Street and Misterogers Neighborhood. We think they are pitched at the same level--preschool, kindergarten, some toddlers perhaps--and we think they define the domain within which reasonable children's programming should take place.

Both of these programs are available wherever there are PBS network affiliates and are shown five days a week. Sesame Street is on for one hour each day; Misterogers Neighborhood is on for one half hour each day. Sesame Street is a product of the Children's Television Workshop, federally funded. Misterogers Neighborhood is mostly financed by Sears Roebuck Foundation and other private sources, although it does have some federal money. It originates with a very small crew on Station WQED in Pittsburgh. Sesame Street originates in film labs, libraries and studios all over, and has a large staff and a much, much larger budget.

The styles are completely different. Sesame Street is very fast paced, sharp, brisk and much oriented toward urban, low-income people. I think there's no doubt that in Sesame Street we're talking about the kinds of things that are relevant to people whose street knowledge may exceed their academic, formal knowledge.

Not that Misterogers is entirely middle class or suburban--not by a long shot--but MR's approach is definitely more thoughtful, slowly paced and benign; he ruminates; he goes over things more; he cross-references the things he does. On Sesame Street each segment is independent of every other segment. They may repeat, changing from English to Spanish--or repeat a few minutes later in English; but the interconnection, the integration, is not there. It's a fast-paced, short-attention-span program. Misterogers is a slower, complexly interwoven program with transition sequences, with stable characters over a long period of time.

I hope that I'm not in any way saying that one of these is better than the other. I don't believe that there is a clear, across the board difference in overall quality, only in style and audience appealed to.

COGNITIVE TEMPO

Recently people have been studying what is often called cognitive style, or tempo, in children. Cognitive tempo is not a personality characteristic or trait, nor is it directly related to intelligence or even established intelligence. The particular style I want to talk about has been developed by Jerome Kagan and others. It is called reflection versus impulsivity, and it means just about what you would think it means. Reflective children take their time, mull things over, generally come to correct solutions--if there is one to the problem at hand--and are quite cautious, careful and systematic. They search the environment for what they need in it, they know when they find it, and they use it effectively--especially in convergent tasks.

Impulsive children are much faster responding; they do not delay their response. In tasks where speed and accuracy are negatively related (in other words where there is a cost in accuracy for speed) they make more errors because they're responding faster. They have a little less patience and are a little more fond of novelty; they explore the environment rather than searching it; that is, they wander through the environment being attracted by salient stimuli in it and are less likely to dig around and find the relevant, informative stimulus, even if it is not salient or inherently interesting.

The tests used to measure reflection and impulsivity are Kagan's Matching Familiar Figures Test(2) and more recently our own Kansas Reflection-Impulsivity Scale for Preschoolers, which fortunately reduces to an acronym KRISP(3).

Although the reflectives seem to have something that should facilitate school learning in their precision, accuracy and pacing, they don't always enjoy an advantage in everything we want children to learn. Consider for example, painting, working with clay, body movement, expressive gestures, or perhaps more important, consider verbal skills like story telling, verbal fluency, rhyming, making up songs and stories. All of these activities require more divergent thinking and at these, in general, the impulsives excel. So I'm strongly urging you not to draw the conclusion that just because reflectives seem to do a little better at some of the standard tasks, they are more desirable or brighter than the impulsives. They are of the same intelligence; they just do well at different things.

What we find is that although reflection-impulsivity appears fairly early (and we can measure it in two and one-half to three-year-olds with the KRISP), it doesn't really become stable in a child until about four years of age. If a child is reflective at four, that child tends to be reflective at five, six, seven or eight (our test stops at eight and Kagan's MFF test takes over and carries on to 12 or 13).

If a child is impulsive at three, he or she may or may not be impulsive at four. So at just about the beginning of preschool a child may settle into one of these modalities, at least perhaps two-thirds of the population does. As children get older their test scores make them appear to become more and more reflective. That is, if you take a group of four year olds and follow them for several years, the group as a whole gets a little slower as they get older, but with many fewer errors. That's the developmental trend. Does that mean it's better or more mature to be reflective? No, not necessarily, because both the impulsive and the reflectives maintain their relative position as you go from age four years to five years to six years. The most reflective kid is still the most reflective kid in the group; and the individual differences are still there, although everyone progresses toward many fewer errors as, of course, you would expect in any kind of maturational growth chart.

Now let's go through the matrix very quickly and we'll notice some interesting things. If it is the case--and we think it is--that children are stably different in how they perceive and process information, then it ought to be the case that different programming styles and philosophies now being followed by SS (Sesame Street) versus MR (Misterogers) should produce different likelihoods of getting different messages across to different children; that's really what we eventually hope to find out.

One would think that the MR slow pace, gradual transitions, ruminative quality, would be especially appropriate for the reflectives. MR goes back and repeats ideas again and again, so that often you misjudge when he's finished with an episode. (It's terribly hard to score him for this reason; we only have about 80% rater agreement in defining units on MR, where on SS we have 98%.) But he goes back, and just when you think he's finished again, he says, "Hey, by the way," and brings up something he's just finished covering in another context. Correspondingly, the fast pace, the high saliency, the demand qualities, the visual attention grabbing that takes place on SS may be exactly right for impulsive children.

In the second phase of our study (which I'd love to report but we don't have the results for yet), we're going to seat children in front of two TV monitors, one playing SS and one playing MR, visually; and the sound track they hear will be that of whichever program they're looking at from moment to moment. A very simple audio system in the lab permits us to do this. When a kid is looking at MR and he gets bored and swings over to SS, the sound track shifts with his eyes. Thus we plan a simple paired-comparison test of what kind of kids watch what kind of program under laboratory conditions.

ATTENTION SPAN

With regard to attention spans, it looks to me like SS is produced for impulsives and MR for reflectives. Let me give you some preliminary data on that in terms of mean length of segments. A segment is defined as a unit in the program from the time you start until any two of the following three elements change: the location and setting, the characters, or what they're talking about or doing. If any two of these three change, then we start a new segment at that moment. The entire show is divided into many segments. For SS this is no problem; every segment begins and ends with a clean break. For MR, if two out of three change, we say arbitrarily at that moment that a new segment has started and analyze the segments separately.

Segments on SS are, on the average, only about 70 seconds long--a minute and 10 seconds. On MR they're almost twice that--just short of 140 seconds. So clearly the MR units are larger. Moreover, the kinds of sudden things they do on SS to maintain attention involve special effects at a rate of 6 per half hour on the average. MR has about 2 per half hour.

If you look for camera shifts or camera shots, you can see one camera angle or locus suddenly replace another, and you can count those very reliably (about 92% agreement). The data look like this on the average: there are 14 camera shots per minute on SS, 10 for MR.

Another aspect of pace is dialogue--that is, when there are two or more speaking parts, human, puppet, cartoon or as sometimes happens on SS just triangles and squares rapping together. There's more of this on SS, 74% to around 40% for MR. Also there is faster dialogue (shifts of speaker per minute) on SS. These run about 18 per minute on SS, to somewhere around 12 for MR.

Let's turn to the characters on these programs. A large difference is the fact that SS is 39% cartoons and MR is only 1% cartoons--that is, animation of any kind. The result is that if you go back and separately time the cartoons (since SS has so many of them) the results change. Instead of having a mean length of 70 seconds, the animated cartoon segments in SS are only 40 seconds long on the average. The most salient thing is also one of the shortest things on SS. Use of puppets is a little heavier on SS, but the development of the character of these puppets is much thinner. On MR, some of those puppets--King Friday, Lady Elaine Fairchild--are my dear friends now that I've become a devotee; they have real continuity in character and depth. On the other hand, if you see one Cookie Monster, you've seen them all. He has only one thing on his mind. Kermit the Frog on SS is really a very benign social philosopher and has a lot of the gentleness and depth of a real character. On the other hand, the Grouch is just a grouch.

Incidentally, it's very interesting to summarize what motivates the characters. On SS everybody seems to be busy "conning" everybody else--have you noticed that? On SS somebody is always trying to trick, cajole, wheedle, blackmail or confuse someone else. On MR this almost never happens. But that's content and we're not analyzing that yet, no matter how tempting it may be.

HABITUATION

The next point has to do with habituation rates. Very quickly let me tell you that impulsive children habituate faster in laboratory settings than reflectives. That means they get tired both of constant stimuli and of different stimuli faster. You have to change the content faster to hold their attention than you do for reflectives. Let's look at the programs in this respect.

Which repeats more? Which repeats more episodes? Curiously, SS does. It repeats about 10% of the episodes on any one program--either as repeats within the current program or from a little segment of a previous program. We've scored language changes--that is, when it does the same thing in Spanish that it did a few minutes ago in English--as repeats and perhaps gave them an advantage there. Only about 7% are repeats on MR and these are repeats with variations, yet MR has more thematic continuity.

One of the things that's been suggested about teaching reflectives and impulsives is that since impulsives habituate faster--get tired of the surface qualities of things quicker--you should teach them the same concepts with highly varied examples, rarely repeating an example. This is exactly what SS does when it tries to teach concepts such as above-below, full-empty, fast-slow and so on. They hardly ever repeat an example in a different context; but they use special effects, tricks, everything they can to show new examples of the same concept over and over for cumulative effect. This is a good strategy for a restless, active viewer, like an impulsive.

The corresponding teaching principle that's been suggested to engage reflective kids would be to use highly familiar examples over and over again to teach new concepts--exactly the opposite strategy. I suggest that this is exactly what MR is doing because the characters are familiar, well-known and well-developed, the settings are stable; he goes to the same cupboard in the same kitchen to get the same materials from show to show. Yet there's enough variability in what he's teaching that the reflective who wants to proceed slowly through all those details can get on with it. He's not hung up on his own compulsive, familiarization routines.

CONVERGENT VS. DIVERGENT THINKING

The last category has to do with convergent versus divergent thinking. We really thought differences would be marked here. We thought: SS is trying to teach facts--numbers, letters, simple concepts--clearly they're going to resolve everything, right? They're going to be tightly convergent and always give you answers. They're not in the game for creativity; they're in the game for selling the idea, getting the concept across. Whereas MR and his staff are highly creative, extremely loose and free, and seem to enjoy the creative processes in producing the show. Clearly they want the viewer to do variable things, to carry the load himself. "You take it from here. . .spin off the fantasy for yourself, we're just going to give you the germ of a thought."

We were surprised to find the results to be only 1% different. The outcome was 70% convergent for SS and 69% convergent for MR. It may be an absolute about programming for children that you can't tolerate more than about one-third open-ended, unresolved segments; perhaps two-thirds closure is necessary. We don't know yet, but we can't claim a much greater burden on the child to take an active role, rather than just passively viewing, for either program.

SUMMARY

The conclusions we can draw so far, very tentatively, from these data are that at least it is important to study and to systematically vary the format of programs and to know something about our target audience. Since all of these programs are massively transmitted, it's clear that we can't beam them at impulsives or reflective, or inner city or middle class children. What we can do, though, is to further explore how all of the gimmickery, all the characterization, all the tricks of the TV visual trades--as distinct from the content material to be communicated--appeals differentially to different kids and how it colors and conditions the attitudes and values which we are trying to get across. Hopefully, if we do this, we can maintain the heterogeneity in program format and content that now exists. I'm a little nervous that Electric Company and Zoom are too much like SS. I really do not feel that they are inferior in any way to the MR program, but hope that wide diversity can be maintained by encouraging the production of programs for all kinds of children, programs whose style and format do not reflect any particular establishment's view of who should be reached, how and with what message. Public television for children is good right now and will get better if its heterogeneity is protected and maintained. We can encourage PBS to continue strengthening the large-scale productions of centralized groups, like Children's Television Workshop, but we also ought to protect the unique contribution of the smaller, less centralized producers. There are many different kids out there watching many hours of TV, and the better job the media do for and with children, the less we need to worry about what adult TV fare is doing to them(4).

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TABLE I

Hypothetical Structure of Program Variables and Related Child Variables

	Time Frame	Repetition and Novelty	Open-ended or Closed
Child variables	Long vs. short attention span	Habituation, Satiation, or Fatigue rate: High vs. Low	Convergent vs. Divergent Thinking Correctness vs. Fluency
Program variables	Pace Special Effects Duration of Segments	Repetition rate Variability over time: Redundant vs. Changing	Resolution of ideas vs. Stimulation of Imagination

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4. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Kenneth Shirley, a doctoral candidate in our program specializing in research on children's television, who scored the tapes. The equipment was supplied by a research contract with the National Institute of Education.

Primary Level Curriculum: Cognitive-Developmental Theory of Moral Reasoning

by Robert L. Selman
& Marcus Lieberman

THEORY AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

A cognitive-developmental approach to moral education emphasizes the child's ability to reason increasingly adequately about moral problems. This emphasis on reasoning is supported by research findings (3)* which suggests that mature moral reasoning is displayed by children who act in genuinely moral ways. For example, a child whose only reason for doing the right thing is to avoid punishment will frequently fail to do the right thing when no one is watching. If a child's reason for doing the right thing is a concern for the welfare of others, this is much less likely to be true.

Recent research in developmental psychology indicates that there is a natural path through which all children's moral reasoning must pass, a path through a series of stages. Passing from no clear awareness of moral rules (ages two to four), the child of five to seven focuses upon rules as something to be obeyed apart from their social meaning, primarily to avoid punishment (Stage 1 of morality). The child moves on to a sense of fairness as the same for you and for me (Stage 2) and at the end of the primary years to a third stage of concern about the welfare of others and for putting yourself in the other guy's shoes (Stage 3). Further stages of development are attained in the late elementary and high school years (See Table 1).

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*A review of the research referred to in this article can be found in this reference.

TABLE 1

Classification of Moral Judgment into Levels and Stages of Development

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
I	Moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards.	Stage 1: Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.
		Stage 2: Naively egotistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.
II	Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others.	Stage 3: Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions.
		Stage 4: Authority and social-order maintaining orientation. Orientation to doing duty and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.
III	Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or sharable standards, rights, or duties.	Stage 5: Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.
		Stage 6: Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.

The theory behind the curriculum described in this paper is basically the cognitive-developmental theory of value education of John Dewey. Elaborated by Piaget, it has been developed in research and tested by Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates at Harvard University. Through following the same children over a fifteen-year span, and studying children in other cultures, it has been found that all children go through the same sequence of moral stages. The sequence is invariant because each stage stems from the previous stage and prepares the way for the subsequent stage. Children may move through these stages at varying speeds and may be found half in and half out of a particular stage. A child may stop at any given stage and at any age; but if he continues to progress, he moves in accord with these steps.

Research indicates that higher stages cannot be directly taught to children at much lower stages. Children exposed to reasonings more than one stage above their own translate them into ideas at their own level. Furthermore, these changes in stages of thinking take time; they do not occur overnight. The use of the term, stage, should not be taken to imply that the changes in thinking that a child goes through are instantaneous, but that stages are a series of qualitatively more adequate ways of looking at moral problems.

Movement to a higher stage requires the experience of conflict or difficulty in the child's attempt to apply his current level of thought to moral problems. It also requires an exposure to the next level of thought. It involves a sense of active participation in the social problem-solving process and the opportunity to take the role of others, to see their point of view when it differs from his own.

Research on stages of moral development implies a new approach to value education which is non-indoctrinative. If, as research indicates, it is true that moral thought passes through this natural sequence of stages, a moral education program of any type (filmstrips, readings, classroom discussion) should focus on helping the child reach the next stage of development rather than directly teaching him fixed rules and values of the adult world. Stimulation of such development as an aim avoids the critical objection to value education that the teacher has no right to indoctrinate children with her particular values, which may be different than those of the child and his family. The existence of moral stages indicates that there is progression to greater moral awareness which teachers and researchers can define independent of their particular cultural and religious affiliation.

As we have just mentioned, according to cognitive-developmental theory, two basic mechanisms are necessary for moral stage development. First, the child must experience the social situation as a moral dilemma, he must feel some conflict or indecision over what is the right or moral action. Second, exposure to moral reasoning slightly more adequate than his own (one stage above) may facilitate development to the next stage.

It has been shown in previous studies(4) that higher stages of moral reasoning relate positively to moral behavior, and that educational intervention using the developmental principles of conflict and near matching (presenting reasoning one stage above) can lead to significant upward stage movement in a variety of settings--junior high and high schools, young men and women in prisons (1,2).

This approach, however, has never been formally tested in the primary grades. While in theory the developmental principles of change should work regardless of the age or stage of the population under study, different age groups present different problems to research and curriculum development. There have been two unsolved issues which, until now, have left primary grade value education relatively barren of sound educational curriculum.

First, the dilemma approach successfully used to instill conflict in junior high and high school students needed modification; dilemmas relevant for older children were neither interesting nor relevant to primary graders. More appropriate dilemmas needed to be developed--a task which takes time and some degree of skill. Second, the oral or verbal presentation of hypothetical dilemmas was not appropriate for younger children who had difficulty grasping the details and social facts crucial to the construction and understanding of the dilemma. A more explicit, visual presentation of dilemmas was needed to hold the attention of young children.

Using the method of sound filmstrips,* we have recently constructed a set of dilemmas suitable for stimulating development in primary grade children in the following ways:

1. They present dramatic stories which are both involving and enjoyable to watch for children of this age.
2. They present a conflict between two or more values understood by children of this age.
3. They are open--children of this age disagree about what is right and have difficulty making up their minds.
4. Without giving right answers, they present reasons above the level of most of the children in the class which may help stimulate the child to make his own level of reasoning more adequate.

The filmstrips are designed to stimulate moral development by way of a number of features. The first and most important feature is that they are designed, through presenting provocative dilemmas, to elicit discussion and debate among children. Second, they present children with moral dilemmas which encourage each child to separate extraneous reasons (such as punishment) from moral reasons in decisions and thereby develop better reasons for moral choices. Third, they present reasons one stage above the level of the child to aid in this process. These are the conditions which help children think - and promote fruitful discussion.

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*Guidance Associates, Pleasantville, New York.

The curriculum is divided into five units which focus on moral topics of importance to primary grade children: a) keeping promises, b) telling the truth, c) respecting property rights, d) sharing and taking turns, and e) understanding the reasons for rules. Each of these units contains two moral dilemmas. Both dilemmas leave the choice up to the children in the class. In the first of the two dilemmas, reasons pro and con are presented to the main character - the one who must make the choice, by the other characters in the dilemma. Some of these reasons will be at a lower level than that of the child in the classroom, some will be at the same stage, and some will be at higher stages. Using such a format helps the child to focus on reasoning and makes it likely that the child is exposed to the stage just above his own, a procedure which may provide impetus for moving on to the next stage.

The teacher's role is to stimulate a good moral discussion of the dilemma. The first problem for the teacher is to get a lively discussion going; the second problem is to guide such a discussion in a way which may stimulate development.* To stimulate discussion, it is useful to break the students into buzz groups or small discussion groups of four or five children mixed in terms of sex, personality characteristics and views as to what choice should be made in the dilemma. The teacher can move from group to group asking questions and keeping the discussions relevant. The primary problem in getting lively discussion going is a lack of disagreement on what should be done. When the children agree on what should be done by the hero, the teacher may ask related questions on which children may not agree.

The implication of this approach to moral education is that the teacher can best view herself as a moral guide, and see her primary task as helping the child: 1) focus on the conflicts, 2) think about the reasoning he uses in solving such conflicts, 3) see inconsistencies in his way of thinking, and 4) find means of resolving such inconsistencies.

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*The process of running moral discussion groups is discussed in a teacher training filmstrip which accompanies the First Things: Values curriculum (Guidance Associates, Pleasantville, NY 10570).

AN APPROACH TO CURRICULUM EVALUATION

Over the past two years, developmental psychologists at Harvard's Graduate School of Education have collaborated with curriculum specialists to develop appropriate moral dilemmas for primary grade children, dilemmas which could be presented in such a way as to gain the children's attention and initiate the kind of discussion in which each participating child can reflect upon his own moral reasoning.

Having completed this task, we have begun to evaluate this curriculum. Specifically, we have begun to test in a preliminary pilot study the following hypotheses:

1. Intervention in the form of a filmstrip dilemma presentation and discussion will cause significant change in moral developmental level compared with a comparison group which does not receive the treatment.
2. More specifically, although the amount of change may be greater when the material is used by a teacher familiar with the stages of moral development theory (expert led) than when it's used by a lay teacher who has only read the manual and instructions, it is hypothesized that both the expert led and informed-lay led groups will not differ significantly from each other but their mean amount of change will differ from that of the control group.

Our design is as follows:

Subjects

Subjects are sixty-eight second graders, half from an integrated blue collar area and half from a middle-class school district in the Cambridge, Massachusetts Public School System. Subjects are divided equally by sex.

Procedure

Six classrooms are participating in the experiment. While entire classes are being exposed to the program, random samples of children within each class have been selected to be interviewed as subjects.

Three schools are represented to increase the generalizability of the results. In School 1, one class is randomly assigned to each of three treatments: expert led, informed-lay teacher led, and control. In School 2, one class each is assigned to either an expert-led or an informed-lay led group. To estimate and control for carry-over effects from treatment classroom children who communicate casually with control group children, a second control group is being drawn from a third school geographically but not demographically separate from the second.

The design is summarized as follows:

Expert led group	Informed-lay led group	Control group
School 1 6 female 6 male	School 1 6 female 6 male	School 1 5 female 5 male
School 2 6 female 6 male	School 2 6 female 6 male	School 3 5 female 5 male

Interviews are being conducted three times: once in the fall before the instructional program, once in the winter after the program, and at the end of the school year (to determine long-term effects).

Treatment Procedure

The filmstrip presentation to the group is only a small part of the total instruction. The remaining portions involve asking the children what should be done to resolve the dilemma, reasons for each choice, and debate about whether some reasons are better than others. Thus, individual participation is the essential part of the program. The unit of analysis is the individual child.

The experimental groups begin following the pretesting of all subjects. They meet twice a week, each session running for approximately 30 to 40 minutes. Each week both dilemmas from one of the five units are presented to the class, one at each session. During the introductory experimental session, the experimental groups are shown Part 3 of the training filmstrip (the model discussion and debate which uses Part 1 of the unit on telling the truth). After this orientation, the order of presentations is as follows:

Week 1	Truth telling (Day 1 - Part 3 of teacher training filmstrip).
Week 2	Sharing and taking turns.
Week 3	Promise keeping (Day 5 - pretest instrument as intervention).
Week 4	Property rights.
Week 5	Rules (one session) (Day 10 - students present own dilemmas to class).

During the first meeting of week three, the dilemma which is being used in the pre- and post-test is discussed. Placing this dilemma equidistant in time from both pre- and post-test interviews will lessen the chances of boredom on the part of the subjects.

During week five, both parts of the rules dilemma is used in one meeting. The second meeting of that week has the subjects present their own dilemmas.

The expert teachers have had training in moral developmental theory as well as experience with primary grade children. The lay teachers are simply using the teacher's training guide.

Instruments

The basic evaluation is a comparison of moral stage among experimental and control groups. Three moral dilemmas are being used to evaluate the intervention program: one based directly on situations in the filmstrip series, one dilemma analogous to one of the filmstrip situations but not identical with it, and one standard dilemma used in previous research on moral development.

These dilemmas may be found following the references. On the pretest, subjects discuss Dilemma 1 (F.S.D.* - promises) and Dilemma 2 (taking turns). On the post-test all subjects rediscuss Dilemma 1 and in addition receive Dilemmas 2 (turns) and 3 (life versus property rights). Issues within the moral domain which are scored by moral stage analyses are:

1.) The child's conception of punishment and punitive justice (Dilemmas 1 and 3).

2.) The child's conception of sharing and distributive justice (Dilemma 2).

3.) The child's conceptions of the value of human and animal life (Dilemmas 1 and 3).

Summary

Pretest	Post-test	Post post-test
1, 2	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3

This choice of dilemmas allows us to examine differences in moral stage change as related to the instrument itself. For example:

a.) What is the effect of filmstrip intervention upon moral stage using dilemmas on which subjects are both pre- and post-tested (Dilemmas 1 and 2).

b.) If there is change in dilemmas that are discussed during the intervention (Dilemma 1), does this generalize to new moral dilemmas (Dilemma 3).

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*F.S.D. indicates that the dilemma is also used in the filmstrips.

c.) What is the effect on moral stage in dilemmas which are also part of the intervention (Dilemma 1) as compared to those which are not (Dilemma 2).

d.) What is the effect of having been evaluated on a dilemma in both pre- and post-test (Dilemma 2) as compared to only the post-test (Dilemma 3).

Because some of the dilemmas are duplicated in pre- and post-testing and some are not, it is necessary to establish both reliability and validity coefficients for the dilemmas. This is done in the following manner.

Test-Retest Reliability

- correlating the mean scores of filmstrip dilemmas on the control group's pre- and post-testings.
- correlating the mean scores of standard dilemmas on the control group's pre- and post-testings.

Inter-Rater Reliability

- correlating two judges' scores on both the filmstrip dilemmas and the standard dilemmas for both pre- and post-testing.

Content Validity

- a determination of the correspondence between the filmstrip materials, interviews and classroom discussion with Kohlberg's moral judgment definitions.

Concurrent Validity

- a correlation between the filmstrip dilemmas and the standard dilemmas.

Construct Validity

- whether or not children who have elements of the stage next highest to their own are influenced by the filmstrip to move up one stage in their moral judgment.

Analyses of Results

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses will be performed on the data. Each subject will be given a quantitative moral maturity score based upon the moral judgment interview which will be scored according to Kohlberg's scoring procedure for moral judgments. Mean change in moral maturity will be compared across groups. Subjects will also be scored qualitatively as either at one of Kohlberg's stages (e.g., Stage 1) or as a subject who appears to be in transition from one stage to the next (e.g., Stage 1/2). Comparisons will be made of the effects of the interventions in "stable" versus "transitional" subjects.

We expect to have some preliminary results analyzed by the Spring of 1973, and a final analysis by next summer. These results will be a preliminary but important indicator of the value of a primary grade curriculum which focuses on moral reasoning.

Robert Selman and Marcus Lieberman are research colleagues of Lawrence Kohlberg and lecturers in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts (02138).

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DILEMMA ONE

Promise-Keeping Versus Value of Life

Holly is an eight-year-old girl who likes to climb trees. She is the best tree-climber in the neighborhood. One day while climbing down from a tall tree she falls off the bottom branch but does not hurt herself. Her father sees her fall. He is upset and asks her to promise not to climb trees any more. Holly promises.

Later that day, Holly and her friends meet Shawn. Shawn's kitten is caught up in a tree and can't get down. Something has to be done right away or the kitten may fall. Holly is the only one who climbs trees well enough to reach the kitten and get it down, but she remembers her promise to her father.*

Should Holly help Shawn by climbing the tree to get the kitten down?

What do you think Holly should do?

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*If using the filmstrip to tell the dilemma, stop the audio and visual at Frame 36.

DILEMMA TWO

Fairness in Taking Turns

Gladys has waited all week to go to the movies. On Saturday, her parents gave her some money so she can see a special movie in town that will only be there one day. When Gladys gets to the movie theatre, there is already a long line with many children waiting to buy tickets. Gladys takes a place at the end of the line.

All of a sudden, a big wind blows the money out of Gladys' hand. Gladys leaves the line to pick up her money. When she gets back, there are lots more people in line and a new girl named Mary has taken her place. Gladys tells Mary that she had that place and asks Mary to let her back in line. If Mary does not let Gladys in line, Gladys will have to go to the end of the line and there may not be enough tickets left and she won't get a chance to see the movie.

Should Mary let Gladys back into the line?

What do you think Mary should do?

DILEMMA THREE

Value of Life Versus Stealing (Rules Adapted from Standard Moral Dilemmas for Purpose of Analysis of Perspective-Taking Element)

In Europe, a lady was dying because she was very sick. There was one drug that the doctors said might save her. This medicine was discovered by a man living in the same town. It cost him $200 to make it but he charged $2,000 for just a little of it. The sick lady's husband, Bill, tried to borrow enough money to buy the drug. He went to everyone he knew to borrow the money. But he could borrow only half of what he needed. He told the man who made the drug that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell the medicine cheaper or let him pay later. But the man said, "No, I made the drug and I'm going to make money from it."

Should Bill try to save his wife's life by stealing the drug if stealing is the only way that he can save her life?

Influencing Children's Values, Feelings, and Morals: Program Development and Problems

by David Weikart

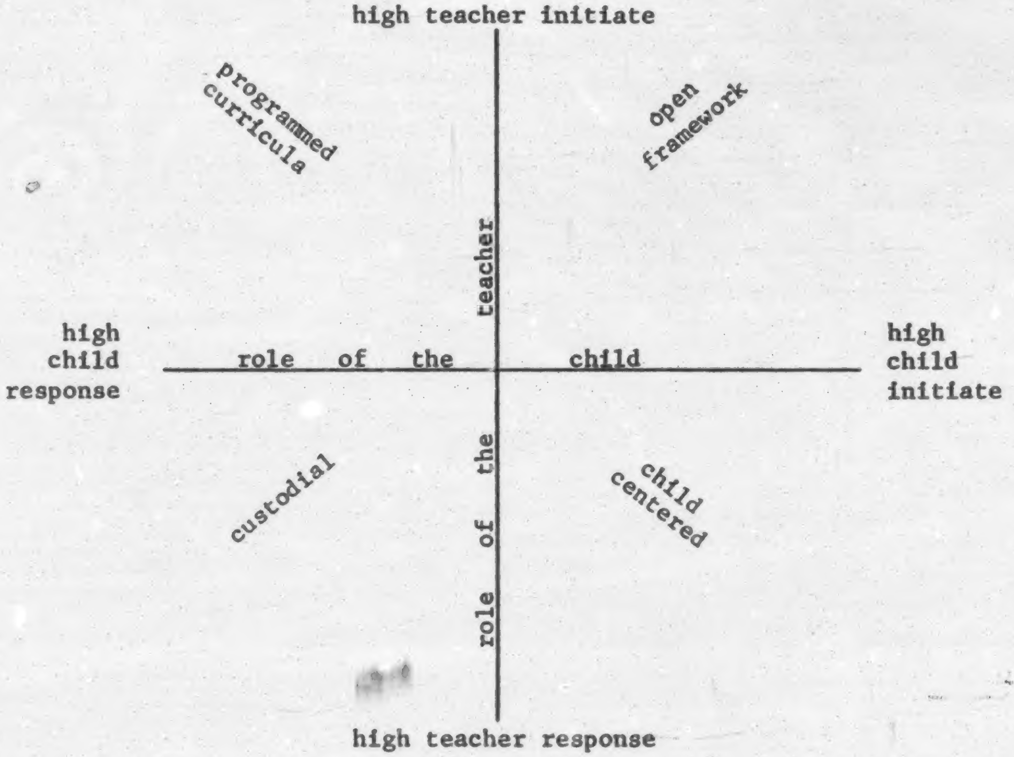
INTRODUCTION

In considering children's values, feelings and morals I'm often struck with the strange, overriding feeling that teachers are perhaps both the solution to the problems of education as well as the major stumbling block. Our inability to have teachers--to help teachers--function better is what it's all about at this point in time. The stresses and strains that are going on in education--of parents, of administration, of educational reform from modeling to the wide range of things that are being attempted--are heavy. Teachers also have such problems as the Tuesday afternoon hair appointment, the difficulty of carrying on a very strenuous schedule in general. Yes, teachers do have very realistic problems that are brought to bear upon them daily. There is, in addition, the phenomenon of training, which is something teachers have done to them and then they're prepared. This problem is true in education perhaps more than in any other field. Training is a model that works well only if you are someone like a computer cardpunch operator, someone who does a routine task. Training is essential there, but not for teachers. There are other issues in teaching.

In considering our topic from the perspective of program development and problems, there are basically three things I want to share. I want to give you a matrix to use in thinking about programs--a framework in which to consider your idea of programs against a philosophic basis. Secondly I want to give you a test. I want you to start worrying about it now--and no cheating! Third, I'd like to talk about some of our preschool work that we've done since 1962. Then I'd like to close with a summary of some thoughts which have grown out of our work over the last several years and some possible directions for the future.

APPROACHES IN WORKING WITH CHILDREN

This simple matrix should be useful as a reference point for many of the following remarks. It is one that I have found useful without getting into a theoretical hassle about what you believe.


high teacher initiate
programmed curricula
open framework
teacher
high child response
role of the child
high child initiate
custodial
the
child centered
role of
high teacher response

Notice what the two lines indicate. The horizontal line is marked "role of the child" and the vertical line is marked "role of the teacher."

I'd like to suggest that you pretend that you're behind a wall somewhere looking through a one way mirror, observing a classroom. You just need to observe the classroom; you don't have to ask the teacher anything, you don't have to ask the children anything nor do you even have to hear them. All you have to do is observe.

Notice now what is indicated at the four ends of the two lines of the matrix. Then note my jargon for what each of the four quadrants represent, though we will discuss only three: programmed curricula, open framework, and child centered.

The high teacher initiation/high child response quadrant is the area I use for programmed curricula approaches. Likewise, I consider the high teacher initiate/ high child initiate quadrant to be characteristic of open framework approaches and the high child initiate/high teacher response quadrant to be characteristic of child centered approaches. I want to discuss briefly some of the assumptions of programming that occurs in each of the three quadrons we're talking about.

Programmed Curricula

I'd like to begin with programmed curricula. If you look through the mirror, what do you see? Probably you see the teacher standing--because when teachers initiate, they stand. If they're not standing, they're sitting with a group of children facing them. Through the mirror you can see a child or a small cluster of children in front facing the teacher. That's the teacher initiation position. Now look to the child response side of this quadrant. Where is the child? If you're observing a good program, s/he is sitting at the edge of his/her chair watching intently what the task is that's being laid out for him/her to accomplish--and s/he is performing on request or on demand. The performance can be over some distance too; it doesn't have to be just "do this," but it may be "this is what you're going to be doing for the next 15 minutes while I time you, while I watch you or while I do certain things."

The programmed approaches, then, tend to be the ones that are most identified today with programmed learning and the obvious associations such as programmed instruction, computer assisted instruction, and programmed textbooks; they tend to be identified most with specific skill areas--the teaching of reading, the teaching of math, the teaching of science.

Some of the new programmed textbooks are associated with ideas such as "no response the child makes should be a wrong response." The incremental steps leading to the knowledge should be so small that no child need make a wrong response in his/her learning. If s/he does make an incorrect response, then there's a loop or a process to go through to get back on the track immediately.

This assumes a wide range of things. One, it assumes the power of the teacher, or the power of the knower, to pass on information to the unknower or the learner. It assumes a relationship then of knowledge and of lack of knowledge. It also introduces concern for management of the child. If you want the child to learn what is in your head, and you don't think s/he is going to want to know that, then you need to design very good methods for getting him/her to pay attention, listen and do what you want.

We have several kinds of systems. Behavioral management is an example. In the world of education today, these techniques are consumer oriented. You can order them by the package or by the child; you can install them by school board action or as a community action. These techniques are highly effective--doing what they say they will do. If you're going to teach three year olds letter recognition, there is no more effective way of doing it.

Child Centered

In the child centered quadrant, where you have high teacher response/high child initiation, you have another philosophy working. The essential difference between the programmed approach and both the open framework and child centered approaches is in the role the child plays in the whole mix. On the programmed side s/he is waiting to be released to express his/her energy to learn. On the other side, the child's task is to be active and to initiate his/her own learning. The assumption operating in both the open framework and the child centered approaches centers around where learning actually occurs. It occurs in the child; it is not something passed to him/her by the teacher.

High teacher response programs are those where the child is active. If you had a little scale underneath the classroom which counted the jiggles, there would be no question about it; the child centered programs would take the cake because of the jiggles per minute that would be occurring as the class is in action, moving and being involved in what's occurring around them (and this shouldn't be taken to mean only physical jiggles). The teacher's task is to be a good, knowledgeable observer: a person who knows children, knows how they feel and how they respond, and attempts to assist them by providing opportunities for experience, enrichment and "opening up"--if you will. The teacher is a referee in part to helping children solve problems, a person who can minimize conflict and maximize cooperation--a person who facilitates, who makes things move because of his/her presence. You frequently don't see the teacher when you look into the child centered classroom, for example. S/he's often sitting on the floor in a working corner, or at a table. Often you see groups of children facing each other rather than the teacher. It's very clear when looking through your mirror what's happening here.

Open Framework

Let's move on to the open framework quadrant. Here, too, belief in initiation on the part of the child is central. That learning occurs in the child and that learning by the child can happen only through his/her own actions and operations must be the basis of the program. The teacher's task is also to initiate, and that throws her/him into a fundamental lack of equilibrium with the child because s/he has some things in mind that s/he wants the child to learn (that part is in common with the programmed approaches). The teacher is usually following a cognitive theory--generally Piagetian, though it may be one of other child development theories--but almost always cognitive or language acquisition in its orientation as compared to the child centered which is often social, emotional or general values-feelings-morals-development oriented. This difference comes out in the program when you observe the teacher. You'll find the teacher's functioning is more of a querying and broadening in the open framework style. S/he's committed to an exploration of specific things which s/he has in mind. The framework is kept open because there is no specifically ordered content involved. In the teacher's head however is a framework which s/he enmeshes upon the culture--the needs of the community and the child, the widely divergent social class situation, ethnic situation and language/linguistic situation--but nevertheless a matrix which is held in common with general child growth/cognitive principles.

This, then, concludes a quick look at the matrix for examining programs. Which approach(es) do you feel are more responsive to the feelings of children? Which do you feel are more adaptable in working with the development of children's values? Their morals? There are certain advantages to some of these programs. For example, the programmed approach can be installed very easily--you know when a child is functioning. If s/he passes a criterion reference test on Day 32 as is outlined, you know s/he's on target. You can monitor these programs straight out; you can test them. The other programs have other kinds of advantages. While programs that are on the defensive today are those following child centered and open framework approaches, we're beginning to ask more questions about education--like, is it relevant? If it is relevant, for whom?

THE TEST

Let's now take the test I promised earlier. Please take out a pencil and a piece of paper. There are four questions, very factual questions having nothing to do with this presentation. Please don't cheat. Rather than having your test graded, you have to tell the person sitting beside you whether you got each answer right or wrong. If you're too embarrassed to do that, it's alright but we'll think you cheated. Alright, the first question is: Tell me, quickly, how much are 9 times 6? Write the answer. Are some of you actually computing by using your fingers? Perhaps you don't know your multiplication tables, yet. How many of you got 54 as the answer? How many of your neighbors did not get 54? How many of you didn't put anything down because you're too confused?

Let's take another one--this one's a little harder and you have the same amount of time, just 3 seconds. 12 times 8. 1 -- 2 -- 3, OK how many got 96? How many of your neighbors didn't get 96?

We have another question now. The radius of DuPont Circle right up the street here is 159 yards. What is the diameter in feet? Please execute the assignments, class. I'll read it again. The radius of ... Alright, if you don't know it, do you know what steps you have to do--the operation? How many of your neighbors are too puzzled to try the question? How many of you got the answer? Would anyone like to share the answer? Yes, 954 feet.

For the last question of this simple quiz--you get 25 points for each right answer--would you please spell "questionnaire." I see several of you are not taking this examination at all. You'll fail the course! How many of you put in one n? How many of you put in two n's? It's genetic by the way. You men who missed this one will be pleased to know that spelling problems tend to be hereditary and tend to be associated primarily with the male sex.

If this typical classroom episode had been the real thing for each of you, how would you feel right now? Would this have been a "moralizing" or "demoralizing" experience? How would it have affected your value system, as relates to school, learning, teachers ...?

I would like to make another point with the quiz. I think, if my daughters are any key, that most of these processes I just asked of you are accomplished by 6th grade if at all possible. Yet, where are they now for you? My daughter's teacher said when she introduced the third grade math program, "Of course, they haven't learned their addition, subtraction, multiplication facts; so we'll spend the first half year doing that before we move on to fractions and division." Similarly, two nights ago at the orientation for new high school students (one of my daughters is going into the 9th grade) the history-social teacher said, "We never count upon the facts which the children have learned in elementary and junior high school - they're usually wrong. We start right from the beginning in our history courses; we make no assumption about knowledge on the part of the children."

I would like to say, at the expense of belaboring the obvious, that there is a certain problem in our adult ways of saying, "Do as I say but don't do as I do." You must know your multiplication tables. Stay after school and write them 50 times! You must know your spelling. (If you're like me, I must have logged a thousand hours after school writing out spelling lessons.)

There's a curious dilemma in our system of education today and it's not going to be solved by resorting to philosophies and waving banners. I think we have to resort to looking much more clearly at where we stand and what we expect. What is going on in preschool and elementary education? Much of it seems like a bunch of junk! I have a feeling that one of the real dilemmas we must face is that we're seeking wide ranges of methods and technological solutions for problems which perhaps should not exist in the first place. Rather, there may be a strong need to begin to look more intensely at what is the purpose of being a six-year-old. Is it really to be a mimicking adult? Is the purpose of a ten-year-old really to perform tasks which you as an adult can't do? You know, I've heard the story that they stopped teaching Greek and Latin in the schools when they gave up beating kids. And I kind of accept that, because how else could those kids memorize all those declensions. I kind of like that story because I think it may be partially true, in a sense. If you didn't pass those four test items, just where have you been, anyway? Remember, Mrs. Smith told you in third grade that you would come to a bad end!

OUR PRESCHOOL RESEARCH

As an example that do I have faith in schooling, a process of schooling, or a process of experienced child interchange which can make a difference, I'd like to talk about our research. In 1960 we started a small planning group, the main purpose of which was to discover some way of getting around the school principal. We discovered that by 4th grade in one school 50 percent of the children had been retained at least one grade, and I found one poor child who by 4th grade had been retained three times. Don't shake your head. That happens. And you already know either the color or the socio-economic class of the kids who were retained. You could write a profile of the kids who don't do well in school without ever seeing the child. It became so bad when I was a school psychologist testing kids in junior high school that I would simply ask where the kid lived and I could give you his I.Q. At that point we (a group of school personnel) retreated to saying, "It doesn't look as though we can do much with the school; what we need to do is prepare these children to outwit it, just like the middle class kids do. They get through school--they don't seem to learn anything either--but somehow they get through. Our task it seemed, in a sense, was to help these kids outwit the system too.

So we took the kids that I call high risk children. These were children who were at the bottom and were definitely "non-achievers." We began the process with 28 kids. We started the sequences--or waves, as we call it, wave 1, wave 2, 3, 4 and the like--coming through school through an open framework program, though we couldn't have called it that the first year or two. Ours was a structured program--whatever that means--but not a programmed approach those first years. We worked with those kids for two years at ages three and then four. They received a half day of schooling everyday and 90 minutes of home teaching once each week, which I felt was very important. Home teaching for us was participation in the educational process at home.

Using standardized I.Q. and achievement measures, we followed these kids up through third grade. All of the youngsters have now completed third grade; our oldest are now in ninth grade and the youngest are now in fifth. The last data I have for the entire group is in third grade. We found that even as late as third grade there were significant achievement differences between children who went to preschool and those who did not. And this is not a single study or a report; this is a compilation of five studies which suggest the power of the data. (Incidentally, of our original 128 children in the studies, we still have access to 123 of them.)

Yet, I hear people at the national level or in various other places saying, "Well, you know Head Start; it really didn't work. Therefore, we should do something else. What's the next best? Oh yeah, let's do; let's involve some parents. Let's have a broad-based home program." Now, I'm for that, but I'm not for it only as a fad; I'm for it as an addition, so please don't misunderstand me. But the idea that we're going to solve our problems through some sudden technological advance, or some new fad that we haven't ever tried before is simply not going to work. That's one piece of information that I'd like you to have.

The second one is that we also did a study from third through seventh grade of how the school treated the children. We didn't ask, "What's their achievement level?" Instead, for one thing, we looked to see where the school placed them. Teachers put problem children in special education or retain them. (And interestingly enough retention is one thing you can do that is most likely to harm a child. I think the fact that retaining a child does no good whatever is the only educational evidence that's almost uniform with all researchers. The reason, of course, is that the program doesn't change. It's not that the kid couldn't gain by getting more experience; but s/he doesn't gain by getting the same experience, plus all the psychological components.)

What we studied, then, was what happened to the children in grade placement, and here's what we found for the experimental group (third through seventh grade). Eighty-three percent were placed on grade level, on the correct grade for their age. The school didn't know whether the children had had preschool experiences or not; they had nothing to do with that. Only 15 percent had been placed in special education, and 2 percent had been given the "privilege" of repeating a grade.

In the control group (third through seventh grade), we found 61 percent were on grade level, 24 percent had been placed in special education and 15 percent had been retained. Of course, you can see the tremendous difference.

We also looked very closely at a much smaller sample in grades five through seven--just three years. We found that of the control group, by then, 50 percent had been placed in special education or retained. We'd moved up to a total of only 20 percent for the experimental group. That's a 30 percent difference.

In the state of Michigan we spend $150,000,000 in special education. If we can reduce the incidence of special education by 30 percent; through proper treatment, then consider the amount of money saved--not to mention the grossly more important value of what's been done for the children. What are the full implications, then?

We have preschool education as a tool for helping children cope with school. These data suggest very strongly that that's a fact at least in a small, northern urban community where high risk youngsters have been given the opportunity for preschool education. Data are at hand supporting the fact that the problem in preschool does not rest with the children. The problem still rests with our utilization of that information - and our tendency to say, "Oops, well, that didn't work. Out goes the baby; we'll keep the water to dip in a new baby." We have a serious problem in the quality of educational programs along these lines.

POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS

I'd like to share in general some final points. For me the solution in education rests with the questions the staff have in how we operate, how we do our work. This is the major issue with which we must cope. There is a central problem which must be answered by whichever philosophy you adhere to and that is: How do you train and discipline staff to carry out programs? I use the word discipline because probably no profession I know of is so terribly independent as teachers--who refuse to work together and are given no opportunity to develop such skills either in graduate school or certainly not in the public schools. So we have the problem of how do professional educators carry out their work? For me the solution is simple: you've got to have a theory or a framework from which you will function. That's been the power of any successful program in any one of the three approaches discussed. If you choose the child centered method as your approach or basic philosophy, for example, you choose the most difficult to implement. It can work well--and there is some tentative data from the second sequence of studies being run that it will work the best of any model--if it's well done. The problem is that we can't do it well on a mass scale because it is such an intuitive personal program that we're left with only the master teachers which of course include all of you and me, but there's all of "them folk out there." And we do have a problem of support.

For me, the real solution of general educational reform rests then in the open framework or in the programmed approach because both of these subscribe to a theoretical model which can be disciplined. You can walk into a classroom and if you've never seen that classroom before and you know the teacher's using that method, you can soon tell whether s/he's on target, whether s/he's correct, and whether the processes which should be going on are there. Now s/he may be fooling you, but I'm assuming this is an honest observation. The practices, procedures and discipline of the theory are such that you operate in certain ways. The advantages in a sense rest in those areas.

A second issue is that we have to face up to what it means to choose between the characteristics of these approaches. We have data that children pretrained on academic skills are not able to maintain their gains once they go into a more open or a more general kind of framework; that children in our experiments pretrained on academic skills did the poorest in normal first grade--even though they demonstrated reading ability before they entered kindergarten. They were more like the middle class than middle class kids; but they did the poorest when they came to first grade.

Look, for example, at Louise Miller's study in Louisville comparing a variety of models--where the pretrained academic children are not faring well on academic majors after they leave the program. Or Merle Karnes' study where the academically pretrained children have not retained their pace once they've left the structure of the academic program. These problems must have answers and you can't answer them by using a wide range achievement test as your model.

There are also other problems that have to be faced here. Three very careful pieces of work come to mind: one by Jerome Kagan(3)--a study just out last year called "Continuity and Change in Infancy;" a report by Burton White(4) on Competency in Young Children; and the famous study on Mother's Teaching Styles by Hess, Shipman, Brophy and Bear(1). Each of these found differences in the ways mothers rear their children. Kagan and Hess called them lower class/middle class differences; White called them competency training and training that did not produce competency; but when you examine his model, you discover that indeed he too had social class differences between competent and non-competent. This is an issue which is going to have to be faced without emotion. Until the present time we've worked on a deficit theory--there's something wrong with the kid who doesn't make it. We've gotten ourselves into a box over that because the deficit theory--while workable from an educational viewpoint--is so insulting to a child, his/her parents, and their group of people that it's not a useful approach.

There were some findings in these studies about differences in the ways mothers from different class groups reinforced and handled their children which should be examined--I think particularly by people out of the cultures most effected. But out of that has to come some advice and guidance to us as professionals as to what we should do. One obvious example is that lower class kids at age two have zero level of role playing and pretending experience. Middle class kids by that point spend much of their time in role playing and pretending. In our particular model we use sociodramatic play as the mainstay of the threes and fours in the program. But somehow we have to delve into what that means. Perhaps the school could begin to compliment what the home provides, or reinforce what the home provides. These things need to be examined.

Another issue which I think is coming up and must be faced is that of the role of the elementary school. You took a test and only you know how well you passed it. The point is that I think many of us are coming to believe that the elementary school as we currently think about it is probably irrelevant--and possibly, if we use Jencks study(2)--that the task of the school is to make it a pleasant experience, not to educate. If you take this position then, it may be that education as we know it shouldn't start until about age 11 or 12 (at about the formal operation period from Piaget's viewpoint). And we should get off this kick of, for example, teaching children to read. Now, there's nothing wrong with reading, but the problem is that we put the cart before the horse. We put the reading before the writing; we put the mouthing before the thinking; this suggests then that we need to examine ways of developing curricula which are generated by the child--not any more of the decoding curriculum where children simply are telling you what someone else has told them. To read a page of Dick and Jane is of zero level of importance from my point of view. To write a story based upon a child's own developmental thrusts around his/her own interests is of great import.

One of the kids in our demonstration school was the focus of some visitors to the class. We talk about sequence and the like but we don't correct all spelling. This youngster had made some errors in spelling. His visitor, being a good teacher, made some corrections on the child's work. The child was totally insulted. "That's my paper. If you want to write, get a paper and do it yourself." That kind of commitment to the child's own product is what we're after in school--not just whether it's right or wrong.

The multiplication table has only a limited number of facts. Yet how many of us don't know our multiplication tables? The reason we don't know them is because we had to bite them off before we could chew them. They had no meaning to us at that time and most of us strangled on them. Any of you who can repeat a cosine--a sine or tangent or any of those angles, remember? I try to forget it every time I think about it.

What, then, do we do in elementary school if we move out of traditional concerns? Where do we start exploring? Here's where we start talking about music. Music does not relate to age. Movement (and I don't mean physical education) experimentation: how does a child work with a problem? For me, most important is a representation of those experimentations. Can the child hold in mind what he has experienced, how he has experienced it, what he thinks about it? Can he organize it in any presentable way? This includes writing--extensive writing. Some of the first graders in our school can write 700 or 800 words in a continuous, consecutive and understandable story...writing.

Group work: I see relatively little value in a child's getting a high score on a test where he - "no cheating now"--what's this about cheating--it's never a problem except in adult life as in a more gross sense like embezzlement--but cheating is not an issue when you don't have grades as a problem. Group work: learning to work in a group, plan as a group, carry out as a group. I think even more important are role playing and drama. Between the dress up corner in nursery school and Broadway there's nothing; - and I think this is an area of education that needs to be given tremendous attention because that's too big a gap in something that's so fundamental to human life. These, then, perhaps point the way toward developing children's values, feelings and morals.

I'd like to close by asking, "Who is responsible for education?" I think the answer is very clear. We, the professionals, are. If Head Start didn't work, it had nothing to do with the children's inability to profit from a good experience. If we're having problems teaching elementary school children to read, we'd better examine what the whole trust is about and where our head is when it comes to what our real tasks are with children. When we find children who are vandals and have low opinions of themselves, we have to examine the framework in which they've learned those things and not say, "Why don't they shape up and learn some morality." I know that measurement is a terrible problem in assessing programs, but I think that's going to be resolved by criterion testing, by observation and by moving away from multiple choice blanks--I think this will make a difference. Do I think that we can improve education? The answer is "Yes!" I think that we've been through fads and we're ready to settle down to a hard piece of work and make things move. I don't think it's going to happen though without major shifts in such things as teachers' working days (and I don't just mean days of time away from school--I mean time at school) and in what teachers do at school.

Perhaps only teaching on alternate weeks is one answer. Perhaps putting children on a two or three days-a-week schedule, with the rest of the week left for teachers to work is part of the answer. Perhaps half-days, where the kids come in the afternoon by the way, not in the morning. Teachers need the time when they're fresh and best to do their thinking, not their teaching. You've heard the story from Maine, of course, where a district has gone to a 4 day week and the kids' achievement has increased, which would be predictable.

The general feeling is that we have to revamp education, but the key is the teacher. I've found teachers are perhaps the most difficult group of professional individuals to work with of all. Most people have taken this difficulty of working with teachers as saying, "Well, teachers aren't very competent." My experience is that they're extraordinarily competent! The problem is that they're so harrassed by schedules, pressures, parents, principals, principals, principals--I mean the one in the front office and by the enormous all encompassing, suppressing "they" who won't let me do what I know is right. I think that those problems can be solved but they're going to have to be solved by two methods. Curriculum obviously is one approach, and changing the school day, and a radical search around these things is the other. I think that we're on the threshhold of looking at some very exciting and some very important shifts and changes with the teacher remaining or maybe regaining the central role, but not any more as the individual entrepreneur out on the forefront--just as a member of a working team where s/he performs a vital function. I think we can do it.

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Ethnic and Social Class Attitudes and Behaviors of Children

by Barbara J. Sowder

INTRODUCTION

What does empirical research really tell us about the attitudes and behavior of children toward both their own and other ethnic and social class groups? This question was the basis of a state-of-the-arts report(80) prepared last year for the Social Research Group at The George Washington University. The paper presented here is based on that report.

This presentation will focus mainly on research findings relevant to children in the ages of preschool through upper elementary. Beginning with a discussion of the development of ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors in children, I will then move to the question of the determinants of these attitudes and behaviors and conclude with research findings on how they may be modified in order to achieve a more successful ethnic and social class mix in our institutions responsible for the care and development of children.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC AND SOCIAL CLASS ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

In reviewing research on the development of ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors in children, it is apparent that the studies have much to reveal, yet, do not tell the entire story. What seems even further apparent from historical and anthropological data is that human beings everywhere have always tended to differentiate themselves from others and the group to which they belong from other groups. Individuals and societies do differ in the degree to which they engage in such differentiation so that prejudice, "outgroup" hatred, and fear vary considerably within and across cultures. Nevertheless, the tendency toward differentiation of self from others appears to be universal.

Some psychoanalytically-oriented investigators seem to assume that the basis for distinguishing oneself from "different or unknown others" is partly instinctual--that is, that it has its roots in the infant's fear of strangers. Most social scientists, however, believe that attitudes and behaviors toward self and others are learned and that their acquisition is gradual, multicausally determined and need satisfying to the individual(69).

Much of the research conducted along these lines in the United States has focused on the development of ethnic attitudes, including attitudes which one has toward his own as well as other ethnic groups(35). Most of this research has been centered on the ethnic attitudes of whites and blacks. Mary Ellen Goodman(26), who has studied in depth the ethnic attitudes and behavior of preschool children, suggests that research indicates at least three overlapping stages of ethnic attitudes: a stage of ethnic awareness; a stage of ethnic orientation; and, finally the emergence of "true" or adult-like attitudes.

Although empirical findings are somewhat unclear, they suggest that ethnic awareness begins to take shape in the nursery school years--that is, at about age three to four. During this time, the child generally becomes aware that ethnic distinctions are made and that he and others are clustered into such groups(26). Such awareness among preschool black and white children has been reported by many social scientists over the last few decades(37,13,26,47,68,57,58,59,83,18,67) and there is some evidence that Mexican-American children also are aware of ethnic differences at a very early age(18). Such studies have been conducted in several sections of the United States and with children of different social classes.

There is some evidence that the social class of the child influences his ethnic awareness. The study of Judith Porter(67) is particularly interesting in this respect since she has studied the relationship between children's social class membership and their ethnic attitudes in great depth. Among both the black and white children whom Porter studied in the integrated and segregated preschools of Boston in 1965, she found that children in the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program showed a greater knowledge of color terms than either their middle or working class peers, even when she controlled for age, sex and ethnicity. She also found a trend for the children's correctness of color matching to be inversely related to social class when controlling for contact between different ethnic and social class groups.

In studying ethnic awareness in children, most investigators prior to 1970 noted a tendency on the part of both black and white children to prefer white over black in experimental play situations. Again, Porter's study is illuminating because of the differences she found in the ethnic preferences of children of different social classes. In this instance, ADC and working class white children chose white dolls more frequently than did middle class white children. This trend was somewhat reversed among black children: working class black children preferred white dolls less often than did either ADC or middle class black children. Further, the children's spontaneous verbalizations suggested that, for some working class black children, the choice of a Negro doll reflected not only preference for the brown doll but also hostility toward the white doll.

Hostility on the part of black children toward white is another general finding from the research on ethnic attitudes. This hostility toward white, however, has often been accompanied by a hostility on the part of black children toward their own ethnic group. Further, the black child's awareness of ethnic differences may bear no correlation with his willingness to admit to his own ethnic membership on the basis of various self-identification measures. Such a finding suggests that the social meaning of ethnic differences plays a large part in determining how a young child will apply these differences to himself. Such an interpretation remains tentative, however, because measures of self-identification remain unclear.

The self-identification factor is, in fact, quite complex. One difficulty arises when one compares the self-identification scores with those for choice of "own-race" doll as a playmate. If both identification with the doll of one's own group and the choice of a doll like oneself as playmate are to be interpreted as rejection or acceptance of one's own or other groups, both measures should yield somewhat similar acceptance or rejection scores. Yet, black children generally have been found to identify themselves as black more often than they have chosen "own-race" doll as a playmate. This tendency on the part of black children to reject their own group may be changing, however, as will be discussed later.

Another complicating factor in self-identification is the skin color of the Negro child. In their now famous study, Kenneth and Mamie Clark(13) found that light-skinned Negro children chose Negro dolls less frequently than did dark-skinned Negro children. The Clarks suggested that consciousness of self as different from others might precede any consciousness of self in terms of a socially defined group; thus in the black youngsters' perception, light Negro skin probably resembles white skin most whereas dark Negro skin is clearly different from both white and light Negro skin. However, there is some evidence that Negro children do not misidentify more than white children if one introduces a "mulatto" doll into the experimental play situation along with a black and white doll(29).

The complexity of the self-identification measure is demonstrated also in other studies. Elizabeth Raymer, for example, found a number of sex differences over and above the tendency of black children to prefer and identify less with their own group than white children. Among her Head Start sample, white girls identified more with their own group than did any of the other experimental groups and girls, in general, showed a stronger preference for sex than for ethnicity. Further, black children tended to select pictures on the basis of sex more than white children. A significant "race examiner" interaction was also noted: white boys identified by sex more strongly with black examiners and black boys more strongly by sex with white examiners(32).

In the earlier mentioned study by Porter(67) she found, not only sex differences, but also social class as well as social contact differences in the self-identification measures of her mixed preschool sample. Among the black children, those who had a high "own race" preference and "high color term knowledge" (i.e., tended to identify colors accurately) were found to have correct self-identification scores. Those with high color term knowledge but low own-race attitudes tended to misidentify themselves. Both black and white children who showed low color term knowledge but high own-race doll choices identified themselves even more accurately than did their peers with more sophisticated color term knowledge but less consistent preference for their own color. Thus, a strong element of attraction to favored status as well as purely cognitive factors seemed to be involved in the correct self-identification of these preschool children. There was, however, one puzzling finding in Porter's study. This revolved around the black ADC youngsters who showed almost as much white preference as their middle class black peers but yielded self-identification scores similar to those of their working class counterparts who had shown a high rate of correct self-identification.

Porter suggests that differences in ethnic awareness may play some part in explaining the various results of her study that were related to social class; however, she notes that her analysis of the children's spontaneous comments strongly suggests that there may be subculturally patterned means of adjustment to minority ethnic states. She explains her results from the middle class black child in terms of the "marginal man" concept, noting that even though the middle class black child possesses many symbols of success, he is still subjected to humiliations in his contacts with others. The working class black child, on the other hand, is not faced with the problem of marginality and is compensated for his ethnic status in various ways within his own community. The ADC black child, however, is not as insulated from the white world as other black children and is forced to play a much more subservient role. He is not allowed to escape the fact that he is black, even in fantasy; he may be forced to accept a negative or devalued identity in order to define himself at all.

Of considerable interest is Porter's data on the effects which contact between ethnic groups may have on the attitudes that preschool children have toward each other and themselves. She found, for example, that white males in desegregated preschool settings preferred Negroes more often than white males in segregated schools. This relationship was reversed for white girls. These differences may be explained, in part, by the fact that the white boys' ethnic attitudes were mitigated somewhat by positive feelings toward active Negro boys who best embodied masculinity whereas, for white girls, personal appearance appeared most important so that choice of doll was based on that doll which most closely approximated the dominant feminine standard of beauty.

Porter also found that the group image of whites was affected by the numerical ethnic composition of the classroom; however, attendance at schools where Negroes were in the majority could affect the self-esteem of white boys in either a negative or ambivalent fashion. White girls appeared to prefer whites, despite the type of school or its ethnic and social class membership.

Porter's findings on Negro preschool children suggested that the desegregated setting had no negative effect on the ethnic self-concepts of working and middle class black children; however, one might interpret the findings for black ADC children differently since the desegregation effects were not indicative of a more favorable group identity among these children.

Despite all the sex and class differences among the children she studied, Porter summed up her findings much the same way as most investigators of this problem. She stated: "It is clear that many black children have low self esteem for themselves on a racial basis; white children are positively attracted to the favored status"(67, p. 138).

One plausible explanation for the American Negro child's conflict over self-identity has been set forth by Kenneth Morland(59) who, on the basis of his study of preschool-aged Chinese children in Hong Kong and Negro and white children in the United States, contends that preference and self-identification are based on dominance--that is, children learn to identify with and prefer the dominant ethnic group in any nation. Morland believes that once American society changes so that Negroes cease being subordinate, there will be positive effects on the ethnic preference and self-identification of Negro children.

There is some indication that Morland's thesis may be correct. As Negroes have gained more rights and recognition in recent years, several studies--beginning in the late 1960's--have reported that the majority of black children prefer black over white in experimental play situations(62,39,22). Only one of these studies investigated the roles of social class and sex in black children's positive self-concepts. It was found that neither variable seemed to influence the children's self-concepts(22).

Studies reporting a more positive group identification and preference among black children have been conducted with children in the early elementary grades. The only comparable study with preschool children involved a comparison of self-identification and ethnic preference of preschool children in 1959 and 1969. The results indicated that preschool black children in the late 1960's identified significantly more with dolls like themselves than had their counterparts a decade before; however, no differences over time were noted in the scores of black children in their choice of "own-race" doll as playmate(18).

There is also one recent study(4) on elementary school-aged children which, like earlier studies on this age group(70,30), found that the majority of both black and white elementary school children tended to reject brown dolls and to prefer white dolls. These results were obtained, however, largely from a segregated sample in Newark, New Jersey, whereas those reporting positive self-concepts among black children were conducted in integrated settings in both eastern and midwestern schools.

Other recent studies on elementary school-aged children also suggest favorable changes in the ethnic attitudes of this age group. For example, there is evidence that elementary school-aged children hold more egalitarian attitudes than did their counterparts in the past(49). In addition, there is evidence that some of the unfavorable stereotypes of different ethnic groups may be changing and that elementary school children often reflect these changing beliefs. Further, the breaking away from old stereotypes and the formation of more favorable attitudes toward different ethnic groups have been particularly marked among children in integrated schools(54). Integration has also been shown to create more positive interethnic attitudes between black and white children, even when the children tend to prefer associating with their own ethnic group(43,89).

Before turning to the subject of children's ethnic behavior, a few words should be said about the development of class awareness in children. In general, it can be said that this awareness follows a pattern similar to that shown for ethnic attitudes except that class awareness seemingly appears somewhat later, about the time children enter elementary school. Research along these lines is sparse and I shall deal here with only one recent study which, in general, substantiates many of the findings of earlier research on this subject. Recent findings indicate that class awareness is indeed present in first grade children and that much of the development in cognition related to social class occurs between the first and the sixth grades. Most of this developmental process appears to be completed by the time children reach the sixth grade. Social class and IQ do not appear to be related to cognitive class awareness; however, sex apparently is related since girls, in general, are able to make more precise groupings by social class than are boys. In looking at behavioral awareness of social class (as measured by the child's ability to match father figures with college education), middle class children seem to be much more aware than other children and lower class children appear to be more aware of behavioral differences than upper class children. Children of higher intelligence also show more awareness of these behavioral preferences than children with lower IQs. However, IQ is shown to have its strongest effect between grades one to four(85).

Turning to studies of children's ethnic behavior, most have found no correlation between the evidence which preschool children give in private of ethnic awareness and ethnic preference and their actual behavior in group situations. In fact, some investigators have reported that preschool children seem to be quite free of prejudice in their behavior toward children different from themselves(26,82,58,17). Several investigators report that very young children seem to use ethnic and religious epithets to express excitement; however, such expressions are often coupled with friendly interaction between the child uttering the epithet and the target of his expression. They note that this may not be inconsistent behavior if the child does not perceive his words as being capable of hurting another or if the child regards his words as play because of their taboo nature(35). One main element in the ethnic interaction of children may be that of fear--should an ethnic group become distinct in the child's mind; however, actual contempt seems to be absent in the emotional association of ethnic differences in very young children(48).

Ethnic and social class cleavage--the tendency of children to associate only with their own ethnic or social class groups--is one measure that has been used to determine ethnic and social class behaviors. Although many of the studies on ethnic attitudes have pointed to the beginnings of a negative ethnic orientation by the third or fourth year of life, there is only slight evidence that ethnic cleavage occurs among preschool children(46,51). Such cleavage, however, usually becomes quite apparent by the time children are in the fourth or fifth grade(56,15,16).

A fairly recent and thorough study of ethnic and social class cleavage among preschool and early elementary school-aged children was conducted by Susan Stodolsky and associates(84). Their sample included disadvantaged Negro and middle class Negro, white and Oriental children enrolled in a Montessori type program during the 1968-69 school year. Some of the children were new to the program; others had been enrolled from one to four years.

Sociometric data obtained from these children at the beginning and end of the school year showed that the children's initial choices did not differ from the actual ethnic and social class proportions in the classrooms. By the end of the year, however, certain group patterns of choice emerged that differed from the actual ethnic and social class composition of the classrooms.

In general, the children showed a great consistency between friendship choices on the sociometric test and social interaction (as measured by time-sampling techniques). The middle class children showed more cross-class friendship choices on the sociometric tests and more cross-class cooperative play in the classroom than did other groups. Further, this cross-class friendship and play increased with the time the middle class children were enrolled in the program.

Some inconsistency between sociometric and observational data was noted for lower class children. The new lower class children showed a strong tendency to direct their social acts to middle class Negro children but this tendency was not reflected in their positive sociometric choices. Older lower class children were more consistent. They tended to direct their acts toward their own group and increasingly made more within-group choices.

Two lines of evidence suggested that social interaction of the lower class Negro children may not have been strongly positive in character: one, a greater share of their social acts were of a dominance-submission rather than a cooperative nature; and, secondly, there was a greater tendency on the part of this group to make negative rather than positive choices of middle class Negro children on later tests.

Despite the differences Stodolsky and associates found between the different social class and ethnic groups studied, they did not feel their results indicative of ethnic and social class cleavage. They noted that a large proportion of the social interaction in the classrooms studied occurred across ethnic and social class lines.

I have dealt at some length with the studies of ethnic attitudes and behaviors in young children because studies such as these represent the best empirical evidence we have on the subject.

The findings are somewhat puzzling, however, in light of the many studies of older children which have found members of ethnic minority groups to have positive self-concepts that either exceed or are equal to those noted for white children and adolescents(89,92). Whether the differences in findings are a function of age or of differences in methodology, or both, has yet to be determined. The methods used may account for some of the variance since those studies using very young children as subjects generally employ visual aids and play techniques whereas the studies of older children are generally of the paper-and-pencil type. Age, however, may play a part since research indicates that an ethnic orientation increases with age. As the child grows older, he is confronted with the task of matching his level of understanding with his verbal facility. As time goes on, he learns more fully the meaning of ethnic and social class terms, learns how to use them correctly and consistently, and gradually comes to master the ethnic and social class labels at his command. He also learns to generalize such concepts as Negro, Jew, Italian, and so on(35). By adolescence, the individual's attitudes and behavior toward others have become somewhat stabilized and resemble those of the adult.

DETERMINANTS OF ETHNIC AND SOCIAL CLASS ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

From the foregoing discussion, it appears that the American child is socialized early in life to be aware of differences between himself and others and differences between his group and other groups. A related question is: What are the determinants of these ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors?

There is, of course, no final and conclusive answer to this question. Research evidence points to a highly complex interplay of social, cultural and psychological factors contributing to these determinants and it appears that no one theory or discipline can satisfactorily explain all the causes and manifestations of ethnic and social class behaviors and attitudes.

One major determinant of the child's attitude toward himself and others appears to be those with whom he first has contact--that is, his family or surrogate caregiver. We know that the child rearing practices of America's many ethnic and social class groups vary considerably. But just how these variations affect the child's ethnic and social class attitudes and behavior is not well understood. According to available research findings--most of which are based on white middle, working or lower classes--children who manifest a good deal of prejudice against ethnic minorities are the product of a disciplined, status-oriented and harsh family setting. This was first demonstrated in the study of The Authoritarian Personality conducted some years ago by a team of researchers at the University of California at Berkeley(1) and has been substantiated by a number of later studies(10,35). These studies have shown that mothers of prejudiced children, in contrast to mothers of tolerant children, believe that obedience is the most important thing a child can learn; that a child should never be allowed to set his will against that of his parents; that a quiet child is preferable to a noisy child; and that sex play on the part of the child should be punished. Such practices were assumed by the authors of The Authoritarian Personality to produce children with low frustration tolerance, high repressed hostility and other personality factors that later generate hostile attitudes toward ethnic minority group members.

Studies along this line have generally found that the child rearing patterns associated with later ethnic prejudice in children are highly correlated with low occupational and educational levels among the parents studied, although prejudice is by no means limited to the lower classes.

The ways in which parents teach children prejudice seem to be both direct and indirect. Parents may punish their children for playing with children of different ethnic groups(36) or they may tell their children that some ethnic groups are "not nice" or "not to be seen with." Parents may threaten the child with loss of love if he does not abide by their dictates and ethnic attitudes(35), or they may increase the child's level of prejudice by simply disagreeing among themselves about the choice of their child's playmates(8). Without any intentions of instilling prejudice, parents may use hostile descriptions and stereotypes in explaining ethnic differences to their children and thereby teach prejudice to their children quite indirectly(71).

The effects of parental attitudes upon children's ethnic attitudes, however, appear to be limited since only low positive correlations have been found between them(8,24).

Another major determinant of the child's attitudes and behavior toward self and others is his school experience. Like parents, the school is a major socializing agent. Within the school two major influences help to determine the child's attitudes toward self and others--the child's teachers and peers.

A number of studies show that some teachers foster ethnic cleavage and ethnic attitudes in either a direct or an indirect fashion. Some white teachers, for example, may be prone to view black students in a much more negative fashion than Negro teachers(27) and may even have trouble identifying them, although they show no such difficulty with white students(90). Similar attitudes on the part of white teachers have been reported for those who teach Indian children(6), Spanish-speaking children and lower class children of all ethnic groups(89). Negativistic stereotypes that appear in textbooks, as well as school administrative policies which foster isolation and feelings of superiority and inferiority, add to chances that children's ethnic and social class attitudes will become increasingly prejudiced. Sometimes, of course, teachers simply do not understand the cultural values and practices of a particular ethnic group and may feel that a child's behavior reflects a lack of interest in school or a low IQ when neither is the case. Or, they may believe the child's behavior reflects a good adjustment when, in fact, the child may be having many school-related problems.

What does it take to make a good teacher of culturally "different" children? This question remains to be fully answered. One study of white middle class teachers found, however, that the effective teacher of disadvantaged children--in contrast to the ineffective teacher--accepts the physical deprivation of the disadvantaged child, recognizes ethnic and social discrimination, does not stereotype disadvantaged children, finds teaching them pleasant, accepts the liabilities of disadvantaged status non-punitively and accepts the existence of minority subcultures(20).

While the school certainly deserves credit for much it has done toward educating children, it has not been a totally effective socializing agent for disadvantaged children. It has failed in its attempt to help many of these children to succeed academically. And, it has failed to eradicate the prevailing norms and sterotypes that lead to prejudice and poor intergroup relations.

To expect the schools--or parents--to totally bring about a tolerance and appreciation of ethnic and social class differences in America would, of course, be asking far too much. Parents and schools are only part of the broader sociocultural aspects of our society that exert a determining influence on the development of ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors. One pervasive influence lies in the very social structure of our society.

If education has not succeeded in eliminating ethnic and social class prejudice, however, it has at least been a mitigating force. The most dependable finding of research in this area is the negative correlation noted between prejudice and most kinds and amounts of formal education(72,35). Further, this negative correlation between education and prejudice seems to involve the social experience of education specifically and not merely the sociological origins of educated people(7). This, of course, does not mean that there are no prejudiced educated people(81).

Most of the studies related to socioeconomic status in general--as determined by level of income and education--have been conducted with adolescents and adults and conclude that lower socioeconomic status is positively correlated with ethnic prejudice. There are two studies on elementary school children, however, that are of interest in this respect. One indicated that third grade children were able to rank different occupations in ways almost identical to the rankings made by adults(78), thus indicating that children are aware of occupational status differences. The other study showed that white children rated high in prejudice were less prone to listen to a Negro than a white speaker, even when the Negro was supposedly of "higher status." In this case, status was recognized but was not as important to the prejudiced children as the ethnicity of the speaker(3).

The findings relating lower class status to prejudice have sometimes been viewed in light of such factors as status mobility, competition, frustration and aggression. It appears, on the basis of correlational findings, that the economic hardships and frustrations borne by the lower classes influence prejudicial attitudes and behavior and induce hostility and aggression as well as submission toward persons of higher status(5). The dominance-subordinance relationships that are part of the class-related status in America seem to be learned early in life(50).

It has long been recognized that "moving up" in America is highly related to one's ability to compete and that this ability, for various reasons, is usually less among the poor and some ethnic minorities than among more advantaged children who have not experienced ethnic discrimination.

As yet, we have far too little understanding of the social and psychological costs of competition; however, according to present evidence, competition is a form of frustration. And, frustration has been shown to be an important determinant of aggressive, hostile attitudes and behaviors. Experimental findings indicate that competition lowers "liking-each-other" among members of a group, interferes with effective group functioning and sometimes leads the loser to attribute his own strong hostile tendencies to his rival. Although anger-induced perceptions of a rival may not lead to overt aggression, they do increase the chances of open conflict and/or the chances that aggressive tendencies will be generalized to some source other than the frustrator(5).

Millard Madsen has looked at aggressive behavior in children in terms of competition and conducted a number of studies to identify subcultural determinants of competitive and cooperative behavior while holding social class constant. Comparing such behaviors among Mexican-American, Negro and white children, Madsen found white children to be most competitive, followed by Mexican-American and Negro children in that order. The least competitive of all were Mexican-American boys(31). Further study by Madsen and Spencer Kagan indicated that older children were more competitive than younger children; that an "I" orientation increased competitiveness; and that Anglo-American children tended to persist in competitive behavior even when it was clearly inappropriate(32).

From the data cited here, and that reported more fully in the original document upon which this paper is based, there is every indication that competition is one of the most serious obstacles to friendship between and among children of different ethnic and social class groups. Cooperative behavior, on the other hand, appears to foster friendship in many cases(5).

Unfortunately, there has been little experimental work on cooperation. In the earlier mentioned study by Millard Madsen, Negro children were found to be most cooperative, white children the least cooperative. Mexican-American children fell somewhere in between Negro and white children in cooperative behavior(31). Madsen did find that a "we" orientation in the play situation increased cooperation among the children he studied(32). However, in still another study, Madsen and Linden Nelsen paired four-year-old Negro and Caucasian children in a game situation which required cooperative interaction in order to get prizes. The children seemed highly responsive to the cue of limited reward but relatively insensitive to both the necessity of mutual assistance and the possibility of sharing by taking turns(31). In still another study, Madsen and Nelsen found that neither observing models nor being reinforced for taking turns was sufficient training to allow children to transfer their interaction patterns to new and somewhat different games. However, children who were trained in a cooperation paradigm were capable of learning the concept that prizes could be obtained only by taking turns and were able to apply this learning to new situations(31).

Brad Manning and associates(53) placed Head Start children of different or similar ethnic groups in a two person situation where they could be either cooperative or competitive. The Mexican-American and Negro girls consistently maintained a high level of cooperation; however, Anglo girls in similar ethnic pairs cooperated significantly more than girls in dissimilar ethnic pairs. No significant differences were noted among the boys of the different ethnic groups. Cooperative behavior was not found to be influenced by the type of reinforcement (delayed or immediate) nor did it increase as a function of the number of trials.

The findings on cooperative and competitive behavior and values point to the influence of group and cultural norms and values as determinants of ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors in children. In addition to the subcultural values and norms, there are those of the broader socio-cultural system which exert a great normative influence on intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Few of us need to be reminded that ethnic and social class prejudice are woven into the very fabric of our society and do, indeed, present us with what Gunnar Myrdal(60) termed the "American dilemma." On the one hand, we speak to our children about equality while, on the other hand, we may condemn them for associating with children of different ethnic or social class groups. This pressure is often exerted early so that children adopt the attitudes of their elders and, in turn exert pressure upon their peers to abide by prevailing norms. Related to group pressure and conformity among children, some of the most encouraging findings come from recent studies which show that minority group children do not always buckle under the influence of their white peers or completely accept the image which white children convey of them(76,61,54).

In addition to parents, the school, the socioeconomic structure of our society, the influence of the peer group and other group norms and values just discussed, there are factors intrinsic to the individual that must be counted as determinants of ethnic and social class attitudes and behavior. Among the important individual factors are a number of cognitive and personality variables which I will discuss only briefly here since most of the studies relating cognitive and personality variables to prejudice have involved adolescents and adults rather than young children.

One cognitive factor implicated in prejudiced behavior has been touched upon earlier--that is, the tendency for human beings to think in terms of stereotypes. Research indicates that highly prejudiced persons are more likely to hold very intense stereotypes than are persons low in prejudice(12). Among children, it appears that stereotypes of minority groups fluctuate with age until the time of adolescence when they become somewhat stabilized(9).

Another cognitive factor related to prejudiced behavior is the person's ability to tolerate ambiguous situations and problems. At least two studies have shown that children who are high in prejudice tend to be intolerant of ambiguity. One of these studies found that prejudiced children tended to think about sex roles in dichotomous terms and were inclined to define family positions in hierarchical roles. Those low in prejudice were found to be tolerant of ambiguity, to have egalitarian views toward the opposite sex and to think in terms of individualized and equal-treatment roles in the family(23). The other study found that the more prejudiced children showed a lower level of abstract reasoning than did less prejudiced children, even though the two groups did not differ in overall intelligence(45).

When we look at the field of personality research and the relationship between children's personality and prejudice, it is apparent that our knowledge is quite lacking. From the studies reviewed earlier, it is obvious that many very young minority group children develop negative self-images in relation to their ethnicity and that white children tend to identify with and prefer their own group. But just how the child's self-concept fits into the pattern of prejudiced attitudes and behavior remains unclear.

From studies on older populations, it appears that prejudiced personalities--in contrast to more tolerant ones--are characterized by a more rigid personality structure, greater conventionality in their values, more difficulty in accepting as part of their "self" many socially deviant impulses (e.g., fear, weakness, aggression), a greater tendency to externalize these deviant impulses by means of projection and more inclination to be status and power oriented in personal relationships. In addition, many prejudiced persons idolize their parents, show a tendency toward impersonal and punitive aggression, are intolerant of ambiguity and manifest rigid and dichotomous thinking. These personality characteristics, in turn, have been positively correlated with harsh and threatening parental discipline and with lower socioeconomic status, as mentioned earlier(1,10). It should be added that these studies have been conducted mainly on whites of various social classes and may not be characteristic of the prejudiced personality in culturally different groups.

Other studies on the relationship between personality and ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors suggest that the way in which our society handles the problem of bringing together culturally different groups is indeed dependent upon individual personality traits. The rigid, conventional, authoritarian personality is likely to impede change, to reject those who differ from her/himself. For many of those who indeed do differ from the majority, drastic personality changes are not likely to come about in the near future, if at all. Added to personality variables that impede change are many factors that lie outside the realm of the individual, such as the socioeconomic structure of our society.

While it is true that we have made many advances in granting greater equality to all our citizens, it is also true that we have yet to bring about a true appreciation of the strengths that lie in our cultural diversity. How to bring Americans together in a truly harmonious relationship has become one of today's crucial problems.

CHANGING ETHNIC AND SOCIAL CLASS ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

What does existing research have to offer that will help to eliminate prejudice and bring about harmonious relationships between and among different ethnic and social class groups? My own opinion--after reviewing the research--is: "A great deal--but far too little."

For many years, numerous suggestions have been made as to how to improve intergroup relations and various action and research programs have been implemented to accomplish these suggestions. Some ideas and programs have involved changes in the American social structure, such as equal employment opportunities and work and job training programs. Other approaches of a legal and political nature have revolved around the desegregation of public institutions and communities. Still others have involved non-legal means of increasing contact between different groups. Finally, measures have been designed to bring about change through educational and informational approaches, most of which have met with at least limited success.

Yet, segregation remains a way of life in America, though a far less entrenched one with the passing of time. The isolation of one group from another has led to limited communication between different groups and has allowed few chances for stereotyped thinking to be corrected by reality.

Contact alone, however, has not always led to positive changes in ethnic and social class attitudes and behaviors and has, in fact, sometimes led to an increase in prejudice. In studying this phenomenon, it became apparent to some social scientists that attaining more favorable attitudes toward "outgroups" seems to be dependent upon the conditions under which interaction occurs. Especially crucial to attitudinal and behavioral change is the relative balance of competitive and cooperative elements in the specific contact relationship. Meeting under equal-status conditions or as functional equals often leads to favorable changes in attitudes and behaviors between and among different groups, particularly if contact involves cooperative efforts to achieve mutually advantageous goals(35). Favorable ethnic attitudes also appear to evolve whenever an individual changes his group membership and this change is accompanied by an internalization of the values of the new group as well as a weakening of the individual's former values(79,63,33,88).

Perhaps the greatest amount of intergroup contact and changes in group membership among American children has occurred as a result of the desegregation of public schools. This change has produced a vast amount of literature on various aspects of school integration. Much of the literature points to an improvement in the academic achievement of minority group children(14,86,52,65,75,89,2). Much of the literature also has indicated that integration enhances the self-concept of minority children(89,92). In addition, many studies show that desegregation is accompanied by greater friendliness between minority and majority group children, although there is no evidence that this increased friendliness extends to more intimate types of interethnic associations, such as the formation of student groupings on campus and in the cafeterias(11,89,87).

One of the largest and most recent studies on desegregation involved an evaluation of the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) which came into being in 1970 to help achieve successful desegregation and to eliminate all forms of discrimination in elementary and secondary schools. The evaluation of ESAP included interviews with a random sample of over 9,000 Project Directors, principals, teachers and students in 879 schools in 14 states. A majority of the students and teachers felt that desegregation had led to better relations between students, though the contact did not produce very intimate associations(87).

One of the more discouraging findings of the ESAP study revolved around the teacher training component. The results not only indicated that the ethnic climate of the schools were better in schools not involved in teacher training but also that the greater the expenditures for teacher training, the worse the ethnic climate of the school.

Four other activities that were highly dependent upon the school staff in the ESAP program were found to be significantly effective in improving the ethnic climate of the school. These were 1) remedial education programs; 2) student programs (e.g., recreation activities, classes or discussion groups, student newspapers); 3) counseling and 4) counseling support (e.g., aides). The greater the expenditures per student for counseling programs, the more positive the ethnic climate of the school. Further, both counseling and remedial programs gained in effectiveness the longer they operated.

The success of school integration is, of course, highly dependent upon factors outside as well as inside the school. The attitudes and practices of teachers are the most direct school influence on the children involved. Administrative policies of the school also appear to decrease community opposition to desegregation when the policies are clear, definite and firm. Vacillation and hostile attitudes on the part of administrators, on the other hand, seem to lead to opposition to desegregation, conflict and limited involvement of minority children in school activities(19).

The proportion of minority persons in a community has been implicated as another major factor in the success of desegregation. The smaller the proportion of minority groups in the population, the sooner the school district is likely to desegregate(91,66).

The last approach to be discussed here in relation to changing ethnic and social class attitudes is the use of various forms of mass media. We know from various studies using communication devices to effect opinion change that the process is dependent upon many factors. Some of these are related to the communication media themselves; others are related to the communicator who may present the media; still others are related to various characteristics of the target of opinion change, including those characteristics related to group membership(38,41).

As is the case in much of the research dealing with prejudice, that dealing with the effects of mass media as a change agent has used adolescents or adults as subjects.

One media that has been somewhat successful is the motion picture(35). In one study using high school subjects, two films were presented which dealt with the efforts of two high school teachers to get a Negro student into college. The films differed only in presenting the teachers as both white, both Negro or white and Negro. Significantly more favorable attitudes toward Negroes were noted only after the "biracial" version of the film(44).

However, another study using high school students showed that group viewing may counteract the effects of a film communication if there is a split in opinion among the members of a group and if highly prejudiced members are allowed to discuss the issue. The discussion of a communication particularly lowers its effectiveness if the groups exposed to the communication are solidly antagonistic toward it. Films on ethnic tolerance, on the other hand, have been shown to significantly reduce prejudice in highly prejudiced subjects who view the film without discussing it whereas subjects low in prejudice may show more change when they are allowed to discuss rather than simply view the film(55).

Other findings from studies using propaganda techniques indicate that face-to-face presentations are more effective in changing ethnic attitudes than are written, pictorial or radio presentations(35).

Various educational approaches have been used also to effect attitude and behavior changes. One of the most popular of the educational approaches, especially with children, has been the introduction into the curriculum of material dealing with the history, culture and personal characteristics of different peoples.

A few studies have reported disappointing results in using social science material to reduce prejudice as well as to enhance the self-esteem of minority children(42,73). More, however, have reported positive results. One study found that the teaching of Negro history and culture to white and Negro fourth grade students in integrated classes significantly raised the self-concept of both Negro and white children. Self-concepts were particularly enhanced among those students who attended schools in areas characterized by integrated housing(25). Another study of fifth grade students found that the maximum results came from teaching black studies in an integrated setting and that, under this condition, Negro children increased their sense of black pride without any "hate whitey" tone(74).

Similarly, teaching about contributions which American Indians have made to our art, cultural heritage and contemporary society has been found to have a positive effect on the self-concept of Indian children as well as the attitudes which non-Indian children hold toward Indians(64). Another study found that presenting Native Americans in a positive light plus discussion of the material resulted in a significant positive attitude change among fifth grade students toward Indians(21).

One interesting and somewhat successful approach has involved requiring subjects to differentiate a particular group in various ways, such as by social class, intelligence, occupational position, or status(40) or by racial features(34). This distinction by racial features was undertaken in an interethnic kindergarten and resulted in more positive attitudes toward Negroes on the part of both black and white children. However, even after all intervention, white children tended to equate "skin color" with cleanliness. Negro children, on the other hand, tended to relate cleanliness with bathing rather than color of skin(34).

Finally, there is the well known television show Sesame Street. Produced for an interethnic audience and largely for educational goals, the show has nonetheless produced more favorable attitudes toward different ethnic groups among home viewers(77).

In reviewing the various approaches to changing ethnic and social class attitudes and behavior, it becomes evident that we do not yet know all the complex factors involved in achieving the goal of positive change. It seems apparent that success in achieving more harmonious relations between and among groups lies partly in the efforts expended by our social institutions. However, the most sophisticated intervention strategy, backed by all the necessary financial expenditures, will probably meet with limited success unless individual citizens strive to bring about change. Perhaps the most profound finding from research comes from a study on college students. What it shows, essentially, is that those students who attained the most positive interethnic attitudes were those "who had taken the time to understand one another as persons"(28).

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Developing Moral Values and Feelings: Further Questioning

by Dr. D. Dwain Hearn

The following are likenesses of statements recently heard here and there in working with people each day.

"People are the only species of life who make formal war against their own kind."

"People's pushbutton violence can today reach half way around the world."

"How can we explain America's being one of the leading nations of today's world in percentages of infant mortality and child abuse?"

"Can Americans withstand the treachery of their 'images'. . .of their values. . .of their morals?"

"How is it that milk subsidy programs have been cancelled for many American children while we're in the process of ordering over 200 B-1 bombers at a cost of $56 million each?"

"People have become predators against themselves."

"Why shouldn't I experiment with alcohol, tobacco, sex, drugs?"

"In the beginning people truly fought for survival. We're back to that today, but now people are fighting for survival against themselves?"

Probably these statements do indicate much of the moral values climate of today, but don't they have a tone of negativism? Why, too, is it that so much of the "news" reported today is negative information? There are reports of robberies, murders, frauds, accidents, wars, diseases. . .Why is it that a person's being shot and killed during a bank robbery is considered worthy of being reported? Why aren't happier, more positive things reported instead? How is it that to such large numbers of Americans today, anything perceived to be values/morals development oriented is felt to be dull, mediocre and boring?

Many people around the world are asking, "What has happened to America?" Could it be that America is suffering from a serious epidemic of misplaced values? The term epidemic is used not with the intent of alarming or overstating but with the intent of engaging ourselves with the seriousness of perhaps our greatest "sin of omission" as educators, as parents, as human beings. That neglect can probably best be brought into focus through the following question.

Why do schools deal with the academic domain, almost to total exclusion of the affective domain? The intent behind this question is surely not to lessen the import of the academic--only to come to grips with the grossness of neglecting the affective. Why can't we deal with the child's inner needs of today and tomorrow as well as with what we see as his/her outer needs for tomorrow? After all, what a child needs most is just to feel inside that someone believes in him/her. . .believes that I'm worth something. . .believes that I matter. . .cares about me. . .believes that what I say counts. . .and believes not only that I am somebody but, very importantly, that I will become someone who counts tomorrow. How desperately so many children (and adults) need only this! Surely it is safe to project that if many children had this, the immediate changes in coping, in self acceptance, in achievement, in attitude, and--yes--even in IQ would be staggering. This is, of course, only one example of the sea of elements involved.

INFLUENCE OF BEHAVIOR OF OTHERS

Probably the gravest question at hand is: How does one most effectively deal with the development of children's values, feelings and morals? Implications from the preceding chapters are that one of the most important aspects of the answer is to be found in the area of model behavior. It is pointed out that research evidence on this topic is contradictory; it seems to me, however, that the realities of our daily lives give full indication of the importance of model behavior. If examples of behavior are not important, then why so much concern about what children view on television, for example?

I feel the importance of people's behavior in influencing the behavior of other people is mountainous, indeed. Surely much research attention should be directed toward this topic if we are to make progress in the affective domain. Perhaps attention should be addressed to such concerns as the following:

(1) How are we going to help adults cope with their problems in order that they may then effectively cope with the problems and needs of children?

Can we solve societal problems through developing "cure-all" programs for children alone? How may I as a parent deal effectively with my child's inner problems and questions about a moral value concern when I myself am experiencing serious inner turmoil about how to deal with that same concern? How may I as a classroom teacher help Johnny with an affective dilemma when I myself feel "torn inside" with concern over the same dilemma? We must help adults cope with their problems, too!

(2) To what extent does the unspoken/unwritten communication effect the development of moral values and feelings?

Surely more attention must be given to the reality of examples lived through such communication. Keith Osborn has well expressed one element of this in saying that when a teacher thinks s/he is teaching A but is actually teaching B through unspoken or unwritten behavior, the children learn B. I'm always amazed by the release of "poll opinions" as to how elections will come out--the unspoken/unwritten communication being to many people that if I don't go with the 52 percent group, then I'm wrong. What an amazing use of such a psychologically potent political tool!

(3) How do we come to grips with what I'll call the American contradictions dilemma?

How much of our behavior actually says to the child, "Do as I say, not as I do?" Surely we know which one the child really learns. Recently, a ten year old child riding in the backseat of a car traveling at the posted speed limit said, "Why are we going so slowly? It's all right to go fast--there's no cop behind us!" Are we a nation of people who are morally responsible only when being observed?

Someone made the following statement at dinner last evening, "Who's going to conserve energy without being legally forced to do so?" How do we teach children (or adults) to curb inflation during the same few months in which an investigating committee has blown $6 million attempting to determine whether a wrong has been committed by our President? It's interesting to see people come out of church and be stopped for speeding or for running a stop sign--all within three blocks of the church.

It seems the American way is hurry, hurry, hurry. Some are saying that in this era of frustration, violence, untempered aggression, weariness and anger, many people are fed up with the "rat race." Has this hurry of the rat race largely snowballed in its replacement of human values, morals, feelings?

(4) How do we come to grips with the problem of lack of respect and consideration for the rights of others?

Perhaps we do take entirely too much for granted. For example, some people have a problem understanding how a smoker is offended when someone asks him/her not to smoke. How have we arrived at the point that the non-smoker is supposed to feel guilty or reluctant to ask a smoker not to smoke? This has nothing to do with rightness or wrongness of smoking! It has much to do with considering and respecting rights of others. Should the smoker consider the rights of others?

Will the social drinker, if s/he takes that "one last drink," have become a killer within the next hour? Where does one's right to lead his/her life as he/she chooses stop and his/her responsibility not to harm others begin? (Perhaps these questions have more than any other point in this book shown us clearly an example of why the affective is often avoided!)

Have we come to take so much for granted that we are no longer sensitive to the rights of others? Is it a healthy case of selfishness? Are we carrying the concept of individual rights to the point of being selfishly inconsiderate of and irresponsible to those around us?

(5) How do we come to grips with the problems of the damages of mass media to our society?

Has much of our news reporting, for example, become void of moral ethics for the sake of making it--financially and otherwise? If we feel our children should not observe much of what appears on television, what approaches should we take for dealing with the problem? How may we develop and make use of our mass media resources in more positive ways?

Perhaps, for example, television has become the greatest infiltrator of all times. . .the greatest indoctrinator. . .the most influential, most subtle, most effective brainwasher. How have American people changed in terms of moral values and feelings due to influences of mass media?

Numerous additional concerns could and must be expressed and researched as relate to the influence of behavior of others. There are, indeed, negative tones reflecting our lack of proper attention to the area of children's affective development; however, there are also positive tones in several directions coming into focus.

POSITIVE DIRECTIONS

(1) There are numerous educational channels involved in developing

affective research and programs for children around the country.

(2) There is rapidly growing evidence of increased public consciousness of the need for such research and programs (as evidenced in the book accompanying this volume--Part II: An Annotated Bibliography of Programs and Instructional Materials).

(3) According to John Carmody in the Sunday, December 2, 1973, edition of the Washington Post (p. K1), we are on the verge of considerable changes in the content of prime time television programs. As a replacement for the currently "flopping" programs, the three major television networks are developing programs with "very, very conscious attempts to inject more so-called positive values" into prime time television. "You see, people. . .are attracted to basic values, after all."

Although these changes are only three in number, possibilities for the immenseness of their influence are paramount. Surely each will be largely helpful to classroom teachers as they strive to deal more effectively with children's affective growth.

Within the preceding chapters, we've been cautioned of the critical objection to value education--that the teacher has no right to indoctrinate children with his/her particular values, which may be different than those of the child and his/her family. Apparently the strongest indications are, too, that affective programs should focus on helping the child reach the next stage of development rather than directly teaching him/her fixed rules and values of the adult world, such as Kohlberg's and Piaget's approach, for example.

Until we have better developed affective programs, it seems to me there are many things educators should be doing which are basic and which avoid problems of both approach and indoctrination conflict. Some examples are:

(1) Work very hard to help every child genuinely feel within him/herself:

Somebody does believe in me, care about me, believe that I can and I count.

(2) Strive to provide more opportunities for the experience of making choices.

(3) Strive to provide more realistic experiences from the real world.

(4) Work to develop/support/provide help for adults as well as children.

(5) Strive to help disturbed children by giving more attention to finding the real causes and providing help.

(6) Strive to provide opportunities for development of self-discipline.

(7) Strive to provide opportunities for positive self concept development, thereby fostering development of both self respect and respect for others.

(8) Strive to become more aware of all aspects of the moulding effect of exemplary behavior.

(9) Work very seriously at setting an example which reflects care and consistency.

CONCLUSION

A teacher recently made this comment about a boy passing by: "There goes a walking catalog of terror!"

Why? How has he come to be such? Does he feel anyone really cares about him? What does he perceive others expectations of him to be? Will someone be successful in helping him grow into a different person? What will he be like as an adult? Will he become able to cope as a citizen of today's world?

As educators, as parents, as human beings, we are on our own and we are responsible. Shall we continue to neglect/avoid the affective domain?

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VALUES, FEELINGS AND MORALS: PART II

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PROGRAMS AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

A
RESEARCH
REVIEW
FROM
EKNE

by
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ASSOCIATION OF
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Bibliographies

American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators. Bibliography: Elementary Education Films. Washington, D.C.: 1970, $.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., 20036).

A briefly annotated list of elementary education films including several in the affective learning area.

Mason, E.A. Film reviews: Films on children's hospitalization and maternal deprivation. Community Mental Health Journal, 1967, 3(4), 420-423.

Annotated bibliography centering on hospitalized children and maternal deprivation.

McIntyre, M. Bibliography: Kindergarten Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1970, $.50.

This extensive, annonated bibliography lists books under several curriculum areas, such as art, language arts, mathematics, movement, music and science. Books are also listed under the development of children and disadvantaged. Films, filmstrips, magazines and pamphlets are included.

McIntyre, M. Bibliography: Nursery Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1970, $.50.

This lengthy nursery education bibliography lists books under child development, curriculum and disadvantaged. Films and filmstrips are listed as well as general books, magazines and pamphlets.

Mental Health Materials Center. Selective Guide to Materials for Mental Health and Family Life Education. New York: Author, $35.00. (419 Park Avenue S., 10016).

A non-profit agency with over 17 years experience in evaluating specific subject areas, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, family life education, sex education, human behavior, mental retardation and community mental health services.

National Institute of Mental Health. Child Mental Health Core Library. Rockville, MD.: Author, 1972, free. (5600 Fisher Lane, 20852).

Lists books and journals designed to provide a basis for establishing a core library on child mental health.

Roen, S.R. References to Teaching Children About Human Behavior: Pre-High School. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1970-71, free. (NIMH, 5600 Fisher Lane, Rockville, MD., 20852).

Teaching the Behavioral Science to Children was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. Topics cover: directly relevant references, other literature resources for teachers, selected curriculum and teaching materials, children's books and tests, high school psychology, and survey of projects with addendum.

Books: Children

Kentucky Department of Mental Health. I Am Me. Frankfort, KY.: Author, 1972, free. (P.O. Box 718, 40601).

A very colorful booklet for young children describing the positive and negative aspects of drugs.

Langstaff, J., & Langstaff, C. Shimmy Shimmy Coke-Ca-Pop! Garden City, NJ.: Doubleday, 1973, $4.95. (277 Park Avenue, 10017).

This is a collection of city children's street games and rhymes. Included are sections on name calling, ball bouncing, side walk drawing games, circle games, who's it?, tag games, jump rope, action games, follow the leader, hand clapping and dramatic play.

Parnall, P. The Great Fish. Garden City, NJ.: Doubleday, 1973, $3.50. (277 Park Avenue, 10017).

The author has created a fable told by an Indian grandfather to his grandson about the silver salmon (King of the Fish) and how they saved the Indians from starvation. Through words and moving illustrations the fable reminds us of the heritage that we have almost lost.

Snyder, A. 50,000 Names For Jeff. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, $1.25. (383 Madison Avenue, 10017).

Jeff, who lives in an inner-city ghetto, anticipates moving into a new low-income housing project but construction is stopped due to neighborhood protest. Jeff's sensitive struggle in securing 50,000 names for a petition for City Hall makes exciting reading for young readers.

Watson, J.W., Switzer, R.E., & Hirschberg, G. Look At Me Now. New York: Golden Press, 1971, $1.95. (Western Publishing Co., Inc., 850 Third Avenue, 10022).

This is one in a series of Read--Together Books for Parents and Children which is created in cooperation with the Menninger Foundation. As children grow older, they become interested in how they grow to where they currently are. As parents and teachers read to children about how the growing and learning process from 0-2 years took place in their past, it will help them better understand the both changes going on now and those to come.

Watson, J.W., Switzer, R.E., & Hirschberg, G. *My Body - How It Works*. New York: Golden Press, 1972, $1.95. (Western Publishing Co., Inc., 850 Third Avenue, 10022).

Children between 2-4 years of age begin to become curious about their bodies and how they work. When children are realistically told of this and a direct approach is used by adults, children are better able to understand and cope. A natural setting for questions and answers needs to be provided in order to clear up misunderstandings. The parts of the body and their functions are presented as natural and normal events.

Watson, J.W., Switzer, R.E., & Hirschberg, G. *Sometimes I Get Angry*. New York: Golden Press, 1971, $1.95. (Western Publishing Co., Inc., 850 Third Avenue, 10022).

A child's anger is part of his growth. Parents and children need to work together to find a functional way to deal with anger and its sources. This growth needs to proceed at the individual child's pace. As the child becomes more independent s/he faces new frustration and anger as well as new satisfaction and success.

Watson, J.W., Switzer, R.E., & Hirschberg, G. *Sometimes I'm Afraid*. New York: Golden Press, 1971, $1.95. (Western Publishing Co., Inc., 850 Third Avenue, 10022).

No matter how happy childhood is, children have experiences of fear. As adults our feelings and responses affect those feelings of children around us. This book is designed to be read by parents and teachers to their children in order to resolve many of the natural fears of childhood by discussing them openly.

Watson, J.W., Switzer, R.E., & Hirschberg, G. *Sometimes I'm Jealous*. New York: Golden Press, 1972, $1.95. (Western Publishing Co., Inc., 850 Third Avenue, 10022).

By aiding parents in preparing children for the addition of new siblings into the family this book deals with the many feelings that the child may experience during this time. It is designed to be read aloud by parents or teachers.

Wondriska, W. *The Stop*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, $5.95. (383 Madison Avenue, 10017).

The story centers on two small boys on the Navajo reservation in Monument Valley as they journey through the desert. The younger boy remains with his father's injured colt while the older boy goes for help. The younger Navajo boy experiences the extraordinary power of nature and endures the challenges of the long night alone.

Books: Teachers

American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators. Prevention of Failure. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1965, $1.00. (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., 20036).

Information on students who have not succeeded within the schools indicates intervention should be planned early rather than late and curriculum programs should take into account individual differences. Publications from 11 different authors cover such topics as the nature of the learner, the influences of environment and implications of these general principles for school practices. A bibliography is included.

American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators. Understanding Other Cultures. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1970, $.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., 20036).

This journal reprint consists of a recorded transcript of an informal dialogue between an anthropologist and a kindergarten teacher who discussed ideas about ways in which children from nursery through the elementary grades could become more aware and understanding of other cultures. The classroom environment can be used as a teaching tool in helping children learn the processes needed in developing values.

Ascheim, S. Materials for the Open Classroom. New York: Dell Publishing, 1973, $3.00. (245 East 47th, 10017).

Open-ended materials with many applications are listed and described in such areas as water and sand, plants and animals, geometry, math, logic, mosaics, observation, fantasy exploration, candle making, reading, music, matching and discrimination, puzzles and holes. The philosophical bits tossed in between materials are beautifully written and have much to say to teachers.

Briggs, D.C. Your Child's Self-Esteem: The Key To His Life. Garden City, NY.: Doubleday, 1970, $6.95. (277 Park Avenue, 10017).

The author deals with a dilemma that many parents face: how to help their children develop self-confidence and happiness through a meaningful life. His workable formula explores the child's sense of identity and points out how high self-esteem can be built. The book is simple, practical and constructive for coping with the daily questions that arise in families with children from infancy through adolescence and preparation for marriage.

Burgess, E. Values in Early Childhood Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1965, $1.50. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Research studies from 1960-64 are drawn together in areas of early childhood education. First, the historical background is reviewed and implications for today are drawn. Under social and emotional development are included studies of overall effect of school experience on social development, security away from home, child-parent relationships, teacher guidance, child-child relationships, sex-role identification and dramatic play. Discussed under intellectual growth are IQ, hierarchy value of IQ, new concepts of intelligence, Piaget's work, Soviet research, issues in cognitive processes, creativity and language development skills training. Implications for later school achievement are drawn. Included are summaries of selected studies and bibliography.

Caldwell, E. Group Techniques for the Classroom Teacher. Chicago, IL.: Science Research Associates, 1960, $2.50. (259 East Erie Street, 60611).

The author describes guidance as a process of helping persons to grow toward goals that they feel are worthwhile and attainable. This can be fostered in the classroom in many ways, such as listening, giving information, showing understanding, empathy, deep interest, showing enjoyment of a person for his particular pattern of individuality, accepting a person for what he is, giving a smile, setting up a situation significant to the growth of an individual, helping to explore possible solutions to a problem and being completely sincere.

Champagne, D.W., & Goldman, R.M. Teaching Parents Teaching. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972, $5.95. (440 Park Avenue S., 10016).

The aim of this publication is to aid teachers who seek additional skills in assisting parents in acquiring teaching skills by concentrating on teacher behavior and a teaching style. If the reader already knows some skill or concept, this partially programmed format allows him/her to skip that part. Objectives for the reader are stated at the close of the book.

Cullum, A. Push Back the Desks. New York: Citation Press, 1967, $2.65. (50 West 44th Street, 10036).

The author's aim is to encourage educators to actively involve children in creative learning experiences. Drawing on 20 years of experiences in elementary schools, actual ways of implimenting student involvement are given in the areas of vocabulary, grammar, the arts, geography, science and the social studies. Familiarity in children's background intrigues them and provides a contemporary and exciting approach to conventional subject matter. Through this type of learning students become more involved and show responsibility for their learning.

D'Evelyn, K.E. Developing Mentally Healthy Children. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1970, $1.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., 20036).

The author attributes sound, sensible and corrective approaches of mental health in elementary school to the type of observations and knowledge of the students' behavior that are available to the teacher. Topics include the child as an integral part of his/her class, the expectations of teachers, interaction and involvement with others, developing self-discipline, the importance of achievement and the school as a positive force.

Hawkes, G.R. *Helping Children Understand Themselves*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1965, $.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

This journal reprint explores a child's understanding of his/her own needs and wants, emotions, aspirations, strengths, liabilities and behavior. It is divided into child behavior, social encounters, personal limitations, environmental factors, learning with an outline of what to look for when a child is making progress in understanding him/herself.

Hoffman, A. & Ryan, T. *Psycho-Social Development of the Young Child: An Instructional Paradigm*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1973, $.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

The psychological contributions of men like Freud, Maslow, Piaget and Bruner are drawn upon to illustrate instructional implementations in this journal reprint. The interacting stages of psycho-social development (3 to 8 years old) are drawn from both the cognitive and affective functions of children. This is used to form a paradigm of instruction with assumptions drawn from learning experiences.

Hopkins, L.B. *Let Them Be Themselves*. New York: Citation, 1969, $2.50. (50 West 44th Street, 10036).

A variety of innovative activities and techniques that the author and his colleagues have tried here and in Puerto Rico, covering the areas of self-image, oral and written expression, poetry and critical thinking. These "have-been-done" projects on children's literature can be implemented in a normal classroom with available facilities. Extra resources include film and recording lists, professional bibliography and three children's books lists.

Hopkins, L.B. & Arenstein, M. *Partners in Learning: A Child-Centered Approach to Teaching the Social Studies*. New York: Citation Press, 1971, $2.95. (50 West 44th Street, 10036).

The authors state that children in the elementary grades are curious, interested, highly stimulated and motivated when they learn that people throughout history, throughout the world, have enjoyed pleasures similar to their own. Social studies can naturally provide a variety of experiences that integrate the arts and the humanities into classroom programs. Ideas for using media and abstract devices, current events, special events and literature in social studies are discussed.

Hunter, M. & Carlson, P. *Improving Your Child's Behavior*. Glendale, CA.: Bowmar, 1971, $6.99. (622 Rodier Drive, 91201).

This programmed book lets the reader choose the solutions that best fit his/her real life situations. By systematically using the power of rewarding, punishing or ignoring to strengthen or weaken behavior, change will occur. In no way do the authors tell parents which values to instill or what behavior to seek but rather the parents choose their own values and goals.

Manley, H. Family Life and Sex Education in the Elementary School. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1968, $1.00. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

The authors reveal how sex is present in the lives of today's children from birth and relate this to implications for family life and sex education in the schools. Ways for developing community understanding, curriculum and well-prepared teachers are presented. Means of program evaluation are discussed. Lists of additional resource materials and bibliography are included.

Martin, B., Jr. The Human Connection: Language and Literature. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1967, $1.50. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

This publication sends a message in language, both literal and symbolic, covering nursery through elementary school. The author extends an invitation for dialogue with the readers. Through a narrative setting curriculum alternatives are explored as they relate to children in a classroom.

Moberg, V. Consciousness Razors. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1972, $.25 . (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Group games are presented to draw attention to male-female sex role stereotypes. Though thoroughly delightful, these "games" are very poignant.

Neisser, E.G. The Roots of Self-Confidence. Chicago, IL.: Science Research Associates, 1970, $1.24. (259 East Erie Street, 60611).

Self-confidence, or the lack of it, may stem from a variety of roots. The author describes ways children gain or don't gain self-confidence at the various stages of development. Even when a school-age child has experienced setbacks his feeling of being "OK" can be saved if the adults in his world are aware of what's happening and provide some safeguards.

Olshaker, B. What Shall We Tell the Kids? New York: Dell Publishing, 1973, $1.50. (245 East 47th, 10017).

With 20 years experience as a pediatrician and child psychiatrist the author attempts to cope with the problems and pleasures of child rearing by providing the individual child with a healthy personality, positive self esteem and the ability to stand on his own two feet. The book is indexed into the following topics: family; doctors, hospitals and operations; education; handicapped children; adoption; death; separation and divorce; remarriage; sex and modern problems.

Saylor, M.L. Parents: Active Partners in Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1971, $1.00. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W. 20036).

The aim of this publication is to draft parents of classmembers and make teacher-aides out of them. The rationale of parent involvement and goals of the program are presented. Steps of initiating and maintaining a parent involvement program are developed with additional resources included.

Sheviakov, G. Anger in Children: Causes, Characteristics, and Considerations. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1969, $1.00. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Anger itself is not bad; it may be used either constructively or destructively. This human phenomenon is important to life and can be guided in constructive directions. Causes and characteristics of anger are discussed.

Stanford, G., & Stanford, B.D. Learning Discussion Skills Through Games. New York: Citation Press, 1969, $1.65. (50 West 44th Street, 10036).

The authors believe that students are not competent in skills needed to be an effective group member. In order that students are better able to participate in group discussions, they must be given the opportunity to learn and practice these basic skills. The book provides solutions to the problems in the form of discussions, skill-building games and activities, and remedial exercises.

Sugarman, D., & Hochstein, R.A. Seven Stories for Growth. New York: Pitman Publishing, 1965, $3.00. (6 East 43rd Street, 10017).

Certain selected mental hygiene concepts are presented in children's stories and crystallized through practical teaching suggestions before and after each story. The classroom teacher can select realizeable mental hygiene goals and carry them into action. Goals include accepting feelings, accepting ourselves, talking about our problems, doing things for others, replacing worry with work and planning, learning to live with change and enjoying the little things in life.

Tanner, L. & Lindergren, H. Classroom Teaching and Learning: A Mental Health Approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, $8.00. (383 Madison Avenue, 10017).

This book centers around the theme that good school programs are mentally healthy programs, and presents new educational and behavioral science research evidence in a conceptual framework for preventing learning and behavior disorders in children. Topics examined in the textbook format include the relationship between the teacher's personality and pupil behavior, curriculum, development of child, factors influencing children's behavior, disadvantaged learners, evaluation, parents and teacher behavior.

Williams, L.E. Independent Learning...in the Elementary School Classroom. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1969, $1.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Many schools list independent working and thinking by children as an important goal but are reluctant to begin such a program. The author offers a practical guide to teachers who would like to provide more independent activities in their classrooms under their current situations. These suggestions include ways for setting up free activity periods and learning centers, and for helping children make choices.

Women on Words and Images. Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotypes in Children's Readers. Princeton, N.J.: Author, 1972, $1.50. (P.O. Box 2163, 08540).

The authors present factual information based on research in such areas as methods, statistics and implications of sex stereotyping. The book deals with active mastery themes, second sex themes, adult role models and biographies. The last chapter concludes with recommendations for change.

Woods, M. Creative Dramatics. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1967, $.50. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Creative dramatics can be used in expanding the potential of children. Drama provides children with a tool to better understand living which is bound to mental health. The teacher promotes self-direction in children in the way s/he arranges the environment and creates moods to arouse a child's curiousity. Drama provides children with opportunities for trying out an experience and expressing a feeling in a protected, experimental setting.

Woods, M. Thinking, Feeling, and Experiencing: Toward Realization of Full Potential. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1962, $1.25. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Creativity is used as a key to individual potential and problem solving. Creativity offers a means for better fulfilling self and living more effectively. The surrounding environment must be accepting and fostering. This publication is geared to the awareness of teachers concerning their guidance of children in the area of creativity.

Catalogs

American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators. *Publication List*. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1972. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

Behavioral Publications. *Early Education/Child Care/Child Development - Problem Oriented Books for Young Children*. Morningside Heights, NY.: Author, 1973. (2852 Broadway, 10025).

Child Welfare League of America. *Publications of the Child Welfare League of America*. New York: Author, 1973. (67 Irving Place, 10003).

Child's World. *A Need to Succeed*. Elgin, IL.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 681, 60120).

Curriculum Associates. *Materials to Provide for Children's Learning Differences*. Wellesley, Mass.: Author, 1972. (P.O. Box 56, 02181).

Day Care and Child Development Council of America. *Resources for Day Care - Update*. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1973. (1401 K. Street N.W., 20005).

Economy Company. *The 1973 Catalog Order Form*. Oklahoma City, Okla.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 25308, 73125).

Educational Research Council of America. *Materials and Services 1973-1974*. Cleveland, Ohio: Author, 1973. (Rockefeller Building, 614 Superior Avenue W., 44113).

Guidance Associates. *Instructional Media for Elementary Schools K-8*. Pleasantville, N.Y.: Author, 1973. (41 Washington Avenue, 10570).

Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. *School Catalog of Instructional Material*. New York: Author, 1973. (383 Madison Avenue, 10017).

Home and School Institute. *Publication List*. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 4847, 20008).

Houghton Mifflin. *Complete Catalogue of Library Books for Children and Young Adults*. Boston, Mass.: Author, 1973. (2 Park Street, 02107).

Ideal School Supply. *Early Learning and Teacher's Buyers Guide*. Oak Lawn, IL.: Author, 1973. (11000 S. Lavergne Avenue, 60453).

International Film Bureau. *1971-73 Catalog Health and Welfare: Motion Pictures, Filmstrips*. Chicago, IL.: Author, 1971. (332 South Michigan Avenue, 60604).

Kentucky Department of Mental Health. *Plant A Patch of Mental Health: Preventive Programs*. Frankfort, KY.: Author, 1972. (P.O. Box 718, 40601).

Kimbo Educational. *Audio-Visual Materials*. Deal, NJ.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 246, 07723).

MacMillan Publishing. *Children's Books*. New York: Author, 1973. (866 Third Avenue, 10022).

Mafex Media Aids. *Multi-Media Aids Catalog for Primary-Elementary Education*. Johnstown, PA.: Author, 1973. (111 Barron Avenue, 15906).

National Council on Family Relations. *Materials Available*. Minneapolis, MN.: Author, 1973. (1219 University Avenue S.E., 55414).

National Education Association. *Publications and Audiovisual Materials*. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1973. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

National Leadership Institute: Teacher Education/Early Childhood. *Publication List*. Storrs, CT.: Author, 1973. (University of Connecticut, 06268).

Putnam's Sons, G.P. Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan. *Books for Young Adults*. East Rutherford, NJ.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 212, 07073).

Silver Burdett/General Learning Corporation. *Complete Educational Catalog*. Morristown, NJ.: Author, 1973. (250 James Street, 07960).

Simon and Schuster. *Children's Books Spring 1973*. New York: Author, 1973. (630 Fifth Avenue, 10020).

Steck-Vaughn. *1973 Educational Catalog*. Austin, TX.: Author, 1973. (P.O. Box 2028, 78767).

Weston Woods. *Portfolio 1972-1973*. Weston, CT.: Author, 1972. (06880)

Films and Filmstrips

Campus Film Distributors. *Dramatic Play*. New York: Author, 1971, $20.00 rental, $215.00 purchase. (20 East 46th Street, 10017).

This color, 16 mm sound film is intended for use in pre- and inservice training programs with day care and other educational professionals. Through live action, dialogue and narration, dramatic play is presented as an integrative process for learning in early childhood education. The strategy used by children in dealing with other individuals and materials integrates physical, social, emotional and intellectual growth. The technical quality of the film is most appropriate for the message presented.

Centron Educational Films. *Growing Up On The Farm Today*. Lawrence, KS.: Author, 1973, $210 purchase. (1621 West Ninth Street, 66044).

This 15 1/2 minute, color, documentary film deals with contemporary family farm life in the American Midwest and stresses positive family relationships. The older brother is in the transition period from boyhood to manhood and is receiving additional responsibilities. The first reactions of the younger brother are awe and envy.

Centron Educational Films. *Me: Preserving One's Own Identity*. Lawrence, KS.: Author, 1973, $225 purchase price. (1621 West Ninth Street, 66044).

This film is based on a child's view of self and self-image. This 16 1/2 minute, color film is in the area of guidance for primary and intermediate grades. In the story Johnny deals with the dilemma of individual identity and uniqueness.

Centron Educational Films. *They: Awareness to Include Other People*. Lawrence, KS: Author, 1973, $215 purchase price. (1621 West Ninth Street, 66044).

This film is presented as a follow up and expansion of the film *Me*. Johnny's adventures go on to include developing awareness of other people and other groups of people. The 16 minute, color film is designed for primary and intermediate grades.

Hamachek, D. *How to Listen to Your Child and How to Get Your Child to Listen to You*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1971, $17.00. (1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., 20036).

This color filmstrip comes in 2 ten minute parts with narration provided by records. The purpose is to improve parent-child relationships through listening techniques. A pamphlet with the same title is also available.

Long Island Film Studios. I feel...angry. Brightwaters, NY.: Author, 1973, $10 rental, $150 purchase. (P.O. Box P, 11718).

This color, 11 minute 16 mm sound film is designed to help children express and cope with their anger by identifying situations which cause anger and discussing reasons for their anger. Conceived and directed by Joan Horvath, the film can be used as a discussion starter for both adults and children. Contrasting black and white scenes of anger create an especially effective mood.

Long Island Film Studios. I feel...loving. Brightwaters, NY.: Author, 1973, $15 rental, $175 purchase. (P.O. Box P, 11718).

This 15 minute, color 16 mm sound film depicts children in loving situations with both people and pets. The children express their emotions openly and sincerely with others. The photography makes this film, also directed by Joan Horvath, an exceptionally sensitive film.

Long Island Film Studios. I feel...scared. Brightwaters, NY.: Author, 1973, $10 rental, $150 purchase. (P.O. Box P, 11718).

This third Joan Horvath film is also 16 mm sound and in color. In ten minutes it covers young children's most common fears, helping the child distinguish between those which are real and those which are imaginary. Through familiarity with their fears, it is hoped children can deal constructively with them.

Scholastic Book Services. I Can. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Author, 1973, $89.50 (8 filmstrips with records), $104.50 (8 filmstrips with cassettes) purchase. (904 Sylvan Avenue, 07632).

The I Can early childhood series has been created to help children explore their abilities and increase self-awareness through developing areas such as music and dance, cooking, art, dressing oneself, building with cardboard, personal care, interacting with other living things, and communication with people. The series is available as a two-semester set, which should serve to encourage more real-life experiences for children which can serve as a basis for building sensitivity to the filmstrip and accompanying sound recordings.

Film and Filmstrip Catalogs

Aims Instructional Media Service. Film Catalog. Hollywood, CA.: Author, 1972. (P.O. Box 1010, 90028).

International Film Bureau. Films and Filmstrips on Exceptional Children. Chicago, IL.: Author, 1972. (332 S. Michigan Avenue, 60604).

John Hopkins Hospital. Film List Concerning Children in the Hospital. Baltimore, MD.: Author, 1973. (151 Blalock, 21205).

Malibu Films. Catalogue. Malibu, CA.: Author, 1972. (P.O. Box 428, 90265).

Wombat Productions, Inc. Films That Reach. White Plains, NY.: Author, 1974. (77 Tarrytown Road, 10607).

Media Materials

Child's World. Understanding Ourselves and Others. Elgin, IL.: Author, 1969, $7.95 each set. (P.O. Box 681, 60120).

The three sets of study prints include Moods and Emotions, Children of America, and Children Around the World. Each print shows a large colored picture on one side and aims, eliciting responses, a participation story, background material, activity or poem, and project resources on the other side. All three sets are multi-ethnic and are printed on heavy paper. Moods and Emotions contains eight study prints on love, compassion, loneliness, frustration, joy, thoughtfulness, anger and sadness. Titles for Children of America are Indian American, Black American, Jewish American, Anglo and other Americans, Chinese American, Mexican Americans, Italian Americans and Puerto Rican American. Countries included in Children Around the World are Italy, France, Japan, Switzerland, Puerto Rico, China, Africa and Russia.

InterCulture Associates. The Sights and Sounds of Asia and Africa. Thompson, CT.: Author, $4.50-$500.00. (P.O. Box 277, 06277).

These elementary level materials are designed for the inquiry or inductive approach in interdisciplinary courses. Included are filmstrips, slides, cassettes, records, study prints, textiles and musical instruments.

InterCulture Associates. The Village Life Study Kits. Thompson, CT.: Author, $400.00. (P.O. Box 277, 06277).

This kit is designed to introduce students to one of man's most universal forms of social organization--the village. The elementary student can learn about the basic needs of man and how the village community meets these needs. This can later lead to the study of one's own community and can lead to the examination of customs, values and accomodations of one's own society. The flexibility of the kit and the accompanying teacher's guide allows portions of the kits to be used simultaneously in different classrooms, at different levels and for different purposes. The large kit is composed of 3 smaller kits which can be purchased separately.

InterCulture Associates. India in Music. Thompson, CT.: Author, $1.05-$65.00. (P.O. Box 277, 06277).

A variety of types of music are presented. Four basic kits for 10 to 20 players enable the teacher to help students discover a musical system far older and much different than their own ($40-$65). Indian rhythm instruments are priced from $1.05-$14.00 and classical musical instruments from $175-$350.00. Records include Indian Classical Music, Indian Folk Music and Indian Film Music ($4.95-$5.98)

Kimbo Education. We Move to Poetry. Deal, NJ.: Author, $5.95 each volume. (P.O. Box 246, 07723).

This two volume album, with a teacher's guide, is a collection of 35 poems--each of which presents one clear thought or image. When children are free to discover an awareness and appreciation of poetry through movement, this exploration allows them to express an imagination and personal extension of the poet's idea without having to tell us what the poem means or how they feel about it. After being read through once, the poem is read a second time accompanied by original musical interludes that reinforce the rhythm of the poem. Some of the poems center on sounds that tell a story: Lawn Mower, Merry Go Round, The Big Clock, Taking Off, Sliding, The Whirl and the Twirl and Up. Children discover their environment through: Shore, Fog, Clouds, Storm and Mud. Animals come to life in Sea Gull, Fuzzy Wuzzy, Creepy Crawly, Little Black Bug and Robin.

Kotowski, J. Say It With Puppets. West Suffield, CT.: Author. (P.O. Box 92, 06093).

This K-3 kit, which allows children to present structured or improvisational theatre, contains puppets, props, staging, nine taped plays, scenery and teacher's guide. The play titles are: Yellow Bird (human relations), Quick Silver's Box (smoking and health), The Boy Who Went Bong (nutrition), The Adventures of Blue Battle (solid waste recycling), Miss Prichett Cares (drug abuse), The Spoiler (drug abuse), Gray Day (drug abuse), Turn on a Happy Feeling (alcohol) and Kitty Kat Goes to Heaven (drug abuse). These plays stimulate discussion and act as a springboard to creative theatre. Workshops are also available at $100 per day plus travel.

Schipper, S. Show Me Tell Me Dolls. Vienna, VA.: Author, $12.95 per doll. (907 Lauren Lane, 22180).

These handcrafted, mendable, washable dolls come with snap off clothes. Each doll has changable, reversable clothes and depicts various children's stories, such as Goldilocks and the 3 Bears (2 dolls), Red Riding Hood, City Mouse-Country Mouse and Ugly Duckling. These may be used for story telling, children's drama, story sequencing and role playing. (Include $1.00 for postage and handling.)

Periodicals

Houdex, P.K. Sex News: A Monthly Digest of News, Views, Events, Publications and Resources. Kansas City, MO.: Author. (7140 Oak, 64114).

This bulletin can be purchased yearly for $2.50.

Project Change. Mini-Book-A-Month: Focus on Affective Education. Cortland, NY.: State University College at Cortland. (Department of Education, 13045).

Published monthly by Project Change, an EPDA Early Childhood Education Project.

Programs

Appalachia Educational Laboratory. Home Oriented Preschool Education (HOPE). Charleston, WV.: Author, $242.15 per child operational cost with capital outlay amortized over five yrs. at $21.68 per child. (P.O. Box 1348, 25325).

A three-way approach to education for three, four and five year old children includes televised instruction, mobile classroom instruction and parent instruction. Thirty-minute lessons are broadcast five days a week. Once each week the child attends a two-hour session in a mobile classroom stationed near his/her home. Mobile classroom activities are based on the objectives for the total program and are closely correlated with television and parent instruction. Once a week, a trained paraprofessional visits the home of each child to deliver the Parent's Guide, activity sheets, books and other supplies. The seven publications include Program Overview and Requirements, Field Director's Manual, Handbook for Mobile Classroom Teachers and Aides, Home Visitor's Handbook, Personnel Training Guide, Curriculum Planning Guide and Materials Preparation Guide.

American Guidance Service. Developing Understanding of Self and Others (DUSO). Circle Pines, MN.: Author, 1970, $82.00. (Publishers' Building, 55014).

This multi-media kit--containing puppets, cassettes/records, posters, stories, activity cards and manual--is designed for grades K-three to help children better understand social-emotional behavior. Extensive use of the listening, inquiry, experimental and discussion approach to learning is made, using a variety of activities, such as role playing, puppet play, group discussion, supplementary reading suggestions, music and art. These animal-themed units center on the following developmental tasks: understanding and accepting self and others; understanding feelings; understanding independence; understanding goals and purposeful behavior; understanding mastery, competence, and resourcefulness; understanding emotional maturity and understanding choices and consequences.

Atlanta Public Schools: Home-School-Community Project. Parent Curriculum. Atlanta, Ga.: Author, 1973. (892 Vedado Way N.E., 30308).

This in-school curriculum with corresponding parents curriculum, (produced under a NIMH grant) is designed to teach children to behave more effectively, to improve their self-concepts, to help them become more self-directed and responsible. The curriculum is geared for grades K-four and for parents and teacher working together. The chapter subjects include likenesses and differences, acceptance of self, behavior causes, senses, choices and consequences, coping with feelings, needs, cooperation, sharing, helping, family and group interaction, listening and communication, expectations and goals, reality, fantasy and creativity, change, and independence and learning.

Bowmar Publishing. Early Childhood Series: About Myself. Glendale, CA.: Author, 1969, $94.57. (622 Rodier Drive, 91201).

This series of nine color filmstrips, preview scripts and recordings is concerned with aiding positive self identity, awareness of self as an individual, motor perceptual skills, and the ability to interact with others. The ideas of each filmstrip are first presented, discussed and reinforced, then followed by a review. The filmstrips are Myself and Other People, My Family and Other Families, Everyone Needs Things, The Everyday World, The Expanding World, The Beautiful World, Communicating with Others, Learning in Many Ways and Searching for Answers.

Effectiveness Training Associates. A New Model For Humanizing Families and Schools. Pasadena, CA.: Author, $75-$85. (110 South Euclid Avenue, 91101).

These in-service training programs are for parents, teachers, counselors, administrators and other professionals working with children and youth. The parent course consists of 24 hours of classroom instruction, including lectures, demonstrations, taped recordings, classroom participation experience, role-playing, buzz sessions and general group discussion. The 30 hour teacher course utilizes essentially the same instruction as the parent course. The Leader Effectiveness Training is a 30-36 hour course in the same vein but given for administrators in a school district before the teacher course. All three stress interpersonal communications and problem-solving.

Encyclopedia Brittannica. About Me. Chicago, IL.: Author, $3.95 teacher's guide, $.69 student's book. (425 N. Michigan Avenue, 60601).

This self-concept program for upper elementary students is aimed at helping them realize their full potential, utilizing such activities as value-oriented voting, role play, brainstorming, pride, and public interviewing. The materials consist of a 17 lesson teacher's guide, a teacher's resource book, extensive bibliography and a colorful student workbook. Teachers are encouraged to accept pupil contributions without judgement; maintain a "you can do it" attitude with all children; listen and always be a friend.

Encyclopedia Brittannica. On Stage: Wally, Bertha, and You. Chicago, IL.: Author, $59.95 Multimedia kit, $1.95 additional teacher's handbooks. (425 N. Michigan Avenue, 60611).

This multi-media teaching kit is designed to help build confidence in primary age children through creative dramatics and related activities. Learning experiences are aimed at enhancing growth and self-concept, interest in others, building meaningful working relationships in groups, strengthening communication skills and body coordination. Teaching materials include 2 large puppets, ice breakers, major activity cards, culminating activities, resource packet and construction cards.

Guidance Associates of Pleasantville, N.Y. First Things: Social Studies/Guidance. Pleasantville, NY.: Author, 1970, $19.50 each sound filmstrip. (41 Washington Avenue, 10570).

The five color, sound silmstrips introduce primary grade children to basic concepts of their social and physical environments. Social science laboratory activities and games center on inductive response and inquiry. The dramatic situations illustrated in the filmstrips help children define and apply basic concepts of the individual, group, interaction, conflicts and cooperation. Titles of the filmstrips are Who Do You Think You Are, Guess Who's In A Group, What Happens Between People, You Got Mad, Are You Glad and What Do You Expect of Others.

Guidance Associates of Pleasantville, N.Y. First Things: Values. Pleasantville, NY.: Author, $19.50 each sound filmstrip. (41 Washington Avenue, 10570).

Lawrence Kohlberg has developed a cognitive-developmental approach to moral education which emphasizes the child's ability to reason increasingly adequately about moral problems. The series consists of five two-part sound filmstrips from K-four which present in stage order moral dilemmas to elicit discussion among children, and an in-service program called A Strategy for Teaching Values. The dilemmas are organized around five critical areas of moral conflict involving truth, promises, fairness, rules and property rights. The filmstrip titles are The Trouble with Truth, That's No Fair, You Promised!, But It Isn't Yours, and What Do You Do About Rules.

Hackensack Public Schools. Learning Experience Module: Environment and Space Utilization. Hackensack, NJ.: Author, 1972. (Fanny M. Hillers School, Longview Avenue, 07601).

Aided by an ESEA Title III grant, this environment and space utilization model is aimed at grades two-five. Emphasized are open-school plan, multi-age grouping, multi-ethnic grouping, a "core" curriculum, individually prescribed instruction, differentiated staffing, and maximum space utilization.

Home and School Institute. The Home-School Partnership Program. Washington, D.C.: Author, 1972, $2.00. (P.O. Box 4847, 20008).

This program aids teachers in helping parents build on and supplement the pre-school and regular school program without duplicating the work of the schools. Inservice programs for teachers and parents encourage parent accountability in education. The objectives are to bridge the gap between home and school and to develop parent-teacher partnerships in education.

Initial Teaching Alphabet Publications. Growing with Language Program. New York: Author, 1968, $1.80 each book, $7.50 teacher's manual. (6 East 43rd Street, 10017).

This program provides the child with detailed, concrete and explicit materials that can expand his abilities to listen, speak, read, write, think and feel by emphazing his critical thinking, perception and sensitivity. The books include Good Day-Bad Day (Psychology), Myths and Magic (myths), Poems and Prose (literary forms), Catch the Sun (anthropology), Fantastic Tales-Fantastic People (folk tales), Troubles (psychology), Alone and Together (sociology), I Want! I Need! (economics), Winds of Change (ecology) and Bats and Bears and Sloths and Squids (zoology). Other accompaning resources are also avilable.

Kaufman, M., Semmel, M., & Agard, J. Project Prime: Programmed Re-entry Into Mainstream Education: An Overview. Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1973. (20201).

This project was initiated to investigate alternative special education instructional programs and seek to determine the educational factors that promote children's growth in academic achievement, social competence and emotional development. Included is a Learner Managed Media Kit which provides materials for accomplishing specific objectives through group interaction and work. Many affective skills are emphasized.

National Instructional Television. Inside/Out. Bloomington, IN.: Author, first viewing 73-74, $150.00 per film, $125 per video cassette. (P.O. Box A, 47401).

This non-profit organization has developed a series that takes an affective approach to the emotional, health, and well-being of eight to ten year olds. It contains thirty 15 minute, color films. The four principle objectives are that the viewer will develop an awareness of the ability to consider and a willingness to accept his/her own feelings and those of others; develop an awareness of and the ability to consider and examine various interrelationships between him/herself, others and the environment; begin to develop alternatives for dealing with his/her own feelings and those of others; and begin to use his/her own feelings, in combination with factual health information from additional sources, to improve his/her well-being. Also the teacher who makes active use of this series will be stimulated to deepen his/her commitment to health education with emphasis on the affective approach. A thirty minute teacher program is included. (Available for broadcast on instructional television.)

National Instructional Television. Ripples. Bloomington, IN.: Author, first viewing 1970, $150.00. (P.O. Box A, 47401).

This non-profit organization developed an early childhood education series that deals with human values, feelings and relationships. It contains thirty-six 15 minute, color programs and three 20 minute teacher programs. The objectives are: (1) help children build human values, (2) extend their knowledge, (3) increase their aesthetic sensitivity and (4) help them to understand the changing nature of the real world. (Available for broadcast on instructional television.)

Pflaum/Standard. Dimensions of Personality. Dayton, OH.: Author, 1969-70, prices range from $1.87 to $2.60 soft cover per student. (38 West 5th Street, 45402).

This is graded program in affective education for grades one-six is group-centered and activity oriented. The texts are: Now I'm Ready (first grade), I Can Do It (second grade), What About Me (third grade), Here I Am (fourth grade), I'm Not Alone (fith grade) and Becoming Myself (sixth grade). Teacher editions and additional resources accompany the texts.

Randolph, N., How, W., & Achterman, E. Self Enhancing Education: Communication Techniques and Processes That Enhance. Palo Alto, CA.: Sanford Press, 1971, $7 only available to those taking the course, $55 per person for 30 hour basic course. (1957 Pruneridge Avenue, Santa Clara, CA., 95050).

This training program centers on improving interpersonal relationships by encouraging the awareness of feelings and perceptions, learning responsibility for self and relating person to person. Role-playing is the basic technique used for teaching communication skills, problem-solving, coping with anger and dealing with confrontation.

Rowland, L.W. *Pierre the Pelican*. New Orleans, LA.: Family Publications Center, royalty basis offprint. (P.O. Box 15690, 70175).

This series of 37 pamphlets (9 prenatal and 28 postnatal) are designed to instruct first time parents in child development beginning with pre-birth through the first six years of their first child's life. How to rear a child in a mentally healthy environment is stressed. If adopted on a statewide level this program can be reprinted on a royalty basis. A sample order of the entire program may be ordered individually.

Scholastic Magazine. *Kindle Series*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Author, $49.50 each unit. (904 Sylvan Avenue, 07632).

Each sound filmstrip aims to help young children understand and feel good about themselves by stirring their sense of wonder, imagination, curiosity and enthusiam. Children of various ethnic groups are depicted in situations familiar to children, such as playing, exploring, feeling, hoping, fearing, fantasizing, doubting and making mistakes. The series is divided into three units which consists of a Teaching Guide and five sound filmstrips. Each is independent of one another and may be shown in any order. Unit 1 (*Who Am I*) centers on the concept of self and the value of individuals. The titles are *Nothing Is Something To Do*, *The Joy of Being You*, *People Packages*, *All Kinds of Feelings* and *Do You Believe in Wishes*. The concept of learning in Unit 2 (*How Do I Learn*) is largely directed toward freeing children from fears and developing habits of thought and inquiry. Filmstrip titles include *What Next*, *Making Mistakes*, *Who's Afraid*, *Figuring Things Out* and *Do You Forget*. Unit 3 (*Getting Alone*) concentrates on social awareness and interpersonal relationships. The titles are *It's Mine*, *Sticks 'N' Stones*, *Will You Be My Friend*, *Smiles Don't Just Happen* and *I Don't Care, Anyhow*. (Discounts are available to educators.)

Scholastic Magazine. *Five*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Author, $49.50 each unit. (904 Sylvan Avenue, 07632).

This cultural awareness series is divided into two units, each of which contains a *Teacher's Guide* and five sound filmstrips. Each is independent of the others and may be shown in any order. The series aims to teach children respect and appreciation for a variety of different life styles, including their own. Unit 1 (*Five Children*) focuses on the life styles of five very different children. The filmstrip titles include *Sara's Letter*, *Happy Birthday Howard*, *Fisherman's Son*, *Cowboy* and *Mira Mira Marisol*. Unit 2 (*Five Families*) centers on the families. The titles are *Chinatown*, *Yah-a-tay*, *Pinata*, *Circus Family* and *Together*. (Discounts are available to educators.)

Science Research Associates. *Focus on Self Development*. Chicago, IL.: Author, 1972, $95 stage, $116 stage 2. (259 East Erie Street, 60611).

This K-six classroom multimedia program centers on reinforcement activities, group discussions and cognitive and affective experiences. Understanding of self and others, and the interaction of these two are stressed. The three stages of the program build upon each other through increasing involvement and understanding. Each stage is flexible, self-contained and can be used independently of the others. Stage One (Awareness) is designed for K-two and emphasizes awareness of self, others and the environment. The media package includes five sound filmstrips, 4 story records and 20 photoboards. Stage Two (Responding) is designed to stimulate active student response in grades two-four. Materials contained in the program are six sound filmstrips, four story records and 20 photoboards. Stage Three (Involvement), based on valuing, is for grades four-six. Included in this program are six sound filmstrips, four story records, and 20 photoboards. A teacher's guide plus other resources are also available for each stage. This program attempts to create a climate for growth through class involvement, dynamics of discussion, arrangements, buzz groups, mirroring and role play.

Shaftel, F. & Shaftel, G. Values in Action: Teacher's Guide---Role Playing Problem-Situations for the Intermediate Grades. Minneapolis, MN.: Winston Press, 1970, $ NA. (25 Groveland Terrace, 55403).

Role-playing can help children in confronting the many decisions they make, for it is a group problem-solving process. Problem-stories are presented in filmstrips, stopped at the dilemma point and followed by organized role-play. Nine sound filmstrips present problem situations and dilemmas for children. The Big Eye deals with destruction of property and peer group pressures. Cliquing and exclusion are presented in My Best Friend. It's All Your Fault centers on respect for rules, responsibility to others and lying. Terry Takes A Role deals with older children's modeling behavior for younger children, breaking family and community rules, and sibling rivalry. Getting even and lying are presented in The Trouble with Nikki. Over The Fence Is Out focuses on cliquing, hostility toward strangers, breaking rules and trespassing. Stealing and older children's modeling behavior for younger children is the theme of Sticky Fingers. He Hits Me First centers on fighting. Benefit of The Doubt presents prejudice, scapegoating and jumping to conclusions.

Social Seminar Training Center. The Social Seminar. Bethesda, MD.: National Institute of Health, 1972, free. (7979 Old Georgetown Road, 20014).

Social Seminar Training Laboratories in drug abuse education, which is sponsored by NIMH and USOE, is avilable to interested groups without charge. This open-ended, developmental process experience provides an opportunity for individuals and groups to gain an awareness of themselves, of society and of drug-related issues. All or part of the multimedia package may be used to meet individual and group needs. Included are 15 cinema verite films with discussion guides; a programmed instruction course on drugs titled What Will Happen If; and a role playing simulation game titled A Community at the Crossroads.

State University of New York at Buffalo. Program in Cultural Studies of Education Project in Ethnography in Education. Buffalo, NY.: Author. (4242 Ridge Lea Road, 14226).

This ten hour training module, which is used in the preparation of educational administrators and student teacher supervisors, creates an instructional process for guiding a sequence of activities of direct observation. Inductive inference training leads to the realistic prospect of developing a more appropriate "mix" between instrument measurement and direct observational measurement.

Steck-Vaughn. Human Values. Austin, TX.: Author, 1972, $3.96 per copy. (P.O. Box 2028, 78767).

This series focuses on the shaping and sharing of human values through individual children. The value categories include affection, respect, well-being, wealth, power, rectitude, skill and enlightenment. The ten Teaching Pictures introduce and define the eight value categories. One of the five readers, About Me, contains ten stories for children to read, two double-page illustrations for stories to be read to children by the teacher and a definition section. About You and Me consists of 20 stories for children to read. About Values presents 20 stories for children and illustrations. Seeking Values and Thinking with Values both contain 26 illustrated stories.

Troll Associates. Understanding Ourselves and Others. Mahwah, NJ.: Author, 1972, $124.75. (320 Route 17, 07430).

This elementary series contains five 8 mm film loops to be used with Technicolor Instant Movie Projector. Each six minute loop is in color with audio. The film loops are Understanding the Difference Between Alone and Lonely; Fear - Real and Imaginary; When We Get Angry; People Are Different, Aren't They and Learning When and Where.

Wombat Productions. Films That Reach. White Plains, NY.: Author, Free Catalog. (77 Tarrytown Road, 10607).

These contemporary films on mental health, our threatened environment, drug abuse, ecology, consumer education, patriotism, decision making, values, personal identity and self-awareness are available on a subscription basis to institutions and individuals. These films are designed to enhance the relationship between a child and the adult seeking to reach him/her. Reach, a mental-health resource program, is designed to provide counselors and therapists with a means of helping children and their families to cope with emotional problems. The eight films included in the program are titled I Am (self-identity), I Think (peer-group pressure), Big Boys Don't Cry (sex-role playing), Lonnie's Day (growing up in a ghetto), The Red Kite (alienation), Almost Everyone Does (drug abuse), Claude (generation gap) and Styles (alternative life styles).